HISTORY

OF THE

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HISTORY OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES—CONCLUDED.

The following Chapters form Volume I of this History.

CHAPTER IX.

Mandi State [1]

Mandi State at the present time is bounded on the north by Kulu and Kangra, on the east by Kulu, on the south by Suket, and on the west by Kangra. Like most of the other Hill States it takes its name from its capital. *Mandi* is a Hindi word, meaning "market," and it may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit word *mandapika*, meaning "an open hall or shed," and may be derived from the Sanskrit root *mand*, meaning "to adorn or distribute." If a conjecture as to the origin of the name may be offered, it probably took its rise from the fact that in ancient times, as at the present day, the place was a centre of trade on the main route from Yarkand and Ladakh to Hoshiarpur and the plains. The earliest mention of the town is in the inscription at the Triloknath temple in Old Mandi, which is dated in the year 2264 of the Kaliyuga era, and the Saka year 1442, corresponding to A.D. 1520.

Among the Tibetans, Mandi is known by the name of Zahor, and it has an interesting association with the great Buddhist teacher and missionary, Padma Sambhava (*c.* A.D. 750-800), for it was from Zahor or Mandi that he went at the request of the Tibetan King, Srong lde btzan, to preach the doctrines of Buddhism in Tibet. Dr. Hirananda Sastri, to whom we are indebted for this information, states that in his lamaist representations Padma Sambhava appears in the ancient Mandi garb, and the special head-dress worn by him is still called *Zahorma*. Many Tibetans are said to come on pilgrimage from Tibet every year in winter to the holy lake of Rawalsar in Mandi, which they call *Padmaçan*, and the spirit of the saint is believed to reside on the floating islands in the lake and is worshipped by them. They approach the lake from some distance on hands and knees. The Hindus look upon Rawalsar as the abode of Lomasa Rishi, whom they probably identify with Padma Sambhava. We are also told that many religious books were taken into Tibet in early times from Zahor; and during the reign of Langdarma (*c.* A.D. 900),[2] the Tibetan King who persecuted the Buddhists, many books are said to have been brought to Zahor for safety, and are believed by the Tibetans to be still lying

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[1] We were indebted to Lala Sri Gopal, Vakil of Mandi State, for much help in preparing this history.

[2] Vide *Western Tibet* by Francke, page 59.

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hidden somewhere in Mandi.[1] These facts and traditions all go to prove the identity of Zahor with Mandi, or at any rate with the tract around Rawalsar.

As in the case of many of the other Hill States, Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to institute inquiries into the history of the Mandi royal family, and the results of his researches are to be found in the Reports of the Archæological Survey.[2] Unfortunately very little material of a historical character, in addition to the *Vansavali*, or genealogical roll of the Rajas, is available, and indeed one may say that no reliable history of Mandi, in the modern sense of the term, exists anterior to the period of Sikh rule. For this, blame may justly be laid at the door of the ancient Mandi rulers, in that they left no reliable historical records behind them ; but in this respect they were in no way more blameworthy than most of the other rulers of the Hill States. Under such adverse circumstances the only sources of information to draw upon, in addition to the *Vansavali*, consist of monuments, coins, inscriptions and such other scattered materials as are available. A history of Mandi, compiled chiefly from these sources, and referring to the period from A.D. 1200 to 1870, is to be found in Sir Lepel Griffin's " The Rajas of the Punjab," and an abridged history finds a place in Col. Massy's " Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab." These have been utilized in preparing the history. A vernacular history in Tankari also exists, dealing with the period from the reign of Raja Ajbar-Sen (A.D. 1500) to the present time, which contains much information of an interesting character. It was compiled in A.D. 1888 by Bikram Kayath from materials in the possession of an old Mandi family named Bisht. An Urdu work, the *Majma-i-Tawarikh Riyasat-hai Kohistan-i-Panjab*, by Sardar Hardayal Singh, also contains a history of Mandi.

The early history of Mandi is similar to that of most of the other Panjab Hill States. In practically all of them we find traditions of a more or less authentic character, pointing to the rule in ancient times of petty Chiefs called Ranas and Thakurs ; the Ranas being Kshatriyas or Rajputs and the Thakurs of some lower caste.

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[1] A similar tradition exists at Manali in Kulu.

[2] Cf. *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, page 123.

These ancient rulers were numerous and powerful in Mandi, Suket and Kulu, and seem to have retained their independence to a much later period than in many other parts of the hills. Their subjection by the rulers of the Hill States involved almost continuous warfare for many centuries, and, even after yielding a nominal submission, they were ever on the alert for any opportunity that afforded a hope of regaining independence. The history of Mandi State affords abundant evidence of the truth of this statement.

Mandi State is situated in the Middle Bias Valley to the north of Suket: and that river flows through the territory dividing it into two unequal parts. Practically the whole area drains into the Bias. Three main ranges run through the State from north to south parallel to one another, with fertile valleys between them. They are named the Nargu, Goghar and Sikandar Dhars.[1] The last-named is to the west, and is said to have received its name from a traditional association with an invasion of the hills by Sikandar Lodi of Delhi (A.D. 1489—1517).

The capital, also called Mandi, stands on the left bank of the Bias near its junction with the Suketi Nala, and the original capital, called Old Mandi, is on the right bank. The total area of the State is 1,200 square miles, with a population of 207,465 at the census of 1931.

As already related, the Chiefs of Suket and Mandi are descended from a common ancestor, and the early history of the ruling family has already been told in the history of Suket. We have now to relate the circumstances which resulted in the partial break up of that State and the founding of an independent principality in Mandi. In the reign of Sahu-Sen, his younger brother, Bahu-Sen,[2] quarrelled with the Raja and left the State to reside at Manglaor, within the territory of Kulu. This event Cunningham fixes at or about A.D. 1000. Bahu-Sen is said to have acquired territory around Manglaor and was recognized as a Rana or local Chief. He was followed by a line of Chiefs whose names only have been preserved. They are as follows:—*Nimata-Sena*; *Naravahana-Sena*; *Kanavahana-Sena*; *Suvahana-Sena*; *Vira-Sena*; *Samudra-Sena*; *Kenshana-Sena*; *Mangala-Sena*; *Jaya-Sena*; *Karenchana-Sena*.

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[1] A cryptic saying associated with the Sikandar Range runs:—
Sikandar ka Dhar na wár na pár.
(The Sikandar Range is neither on this side nor that).

[2] *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, page 123.

The copper-plate inscription of the great temple of Nirmand in Kulu contains, among others, the name of a Raja Samudra-Sena, who was the founder, and whom Sir A. Cunningham identified with Samudra-Sena of the Mandi *Vansavali*.

He says:[1] "The copper-plate inscription of the great temple at Nirmand gives the genealogy of four Rajas, all of whom take the title of Sena, which was peculiar to the families of Suket and Mandi. The names in the plate also agree very closely with some of the consecutive names in the genealogical list of the Mandi Rajas. I now place the two series side by side for comparison:—

Nirmand Plate.	*Vansavali.*
1. Varuna-Sena.	1. Naravahana-Sena. Kanavahana-Sena.
2. Sanjaya-Sena.	2. Suvahana-Sena.
3. Ravi-Sena.	3. Vira-Sena.
4. Samudra-Sena.	4. Samudra-Sena.

"As Naravahana is a title of the god Varuna, these two names may be accepted as intended for the same person. In the second name there is a difference, but the third name of the *Vansavali*, *viz.*, Vira-Sena, I take to be the same as Ravi, by the mere transposition of the syllables. The fourth name is the same in both...... The date (of the inscription) may be S. 1227 = A.D. 1170, which would agree very well with the date derivable from the genealogical roll. From Samudra's accession to the death of Balbir-Sen in 1851 there are 28 names, which if taken as generations at 25 years each, would give a period of 700 years or A.D. 1151 to 1176 for Samudra's reign."[2]

More recently, however, the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet, and he remarks that Cunningham is absolutely wrong about the date of the plate. It is dated in the year 6, and Dr. Fleet is of opinion that this refers to the reign of Samudra-Sena. It is also quite possible that it refers to the Shastra era. In any case, on palæographical grounds he arrives at the conclusion that it must belong to the seventh century of the Christian era. It is evident, therefore, that the Samudra-Sena of the copper-plate cannot be identified with the Samudra-Sena of the *Vansavali*. He says: "This identification cannot be accepted for a moment.

[1] Cf. *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, page 123.

[2] Cf. *Corp. Inscrip. Ind.*, Volume III, pages 286-291.

It is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vira-Sena, Suvahana-Sena, Kanavahana-Sena and Naravahana-Sena, which precede him (Samudra-Sena) in the genealogy, as being identical with or even intended to represent the Ravi-Sena, Sanjaya-Sena and Varuna-Sena of the inscription." The question of the origin of the Nirmand inscription therefore remains uncertain, but recent research makes it probable that Samudra-Sena was a Raja of Spiti.

Karenchan-Sen, c. A.D. 1278.—Karenchan-Sen was tenth in descent from Bahu-Sen, and his *rani* was a daughter of the Rana of Seoket on the Bias, about ten miles above Mandi.

Karenchan-Sen seems to have been seized with the ambition to enlarge his borders at the expense of his neighbours, and invaded and conquered the adjoining tract of Panjain, and annexed Thujri and Kao *kothis*. He also subdued the Ranas of Bans, Neru and Bagi-Thach and forced them to pay tribute. As these tracts were all within the limits of Kulu State, the vanquished Ranas appealed to that Chief for help, and they all flocked to his standard when his army advanced to their relief. In the struggle which ensued Karenchan-Sen was slain, the fort of Manglaor burnt down, and his wife was forced to flee for her life. She was pregnant, and, being alone in her flight, she lost her way in the dense forest. Night coming on, she fell down exhausted at the foot of a *ban* or oak tree, and there her son was born. In the morning some followers of the Rana of Seoket found her, and carried her and the child to her father's home.

From the circumstances of his birth her son received the name of Ban or Bano, and afterwards that of Ban-Sen. The Rana of Seoket had no male heir, and he adopted his daughter's son as his successor, and on his death Ban-Sen became the Chief of Seoket.

On growing up to manhood Ban-Sen began to enlarge his heritage, and built for himself a residence at Bhiuli on the right bank of the Bias, two miles above the present town of Mandi. He attacked the Ranas of Kelti and Sagur, and built the temple of Parasar-Deo. Ban-Sen died about A.D. 1300.

Kalian-Sen, A.D. 1300.—Ban-Sen was succeeded by his son, Kalian-Sen, who acquired a piece of land on the right bank of the Bias, called Batahuli, across the river from Mandi. There he built a palace, the ruins of which may still be seen, and till the founding of the present capital, Batahuli was the

capital of the State, and is still called Old Mandi. The acquisition was probably made from one of the local Ranas who were subject to the Raja of Suket, and it may have marked the first encroachment on the territory of that State.

From this beginning the work of territorial extension rapidly progressed. The Rana of Kelti was subdued, and the country around Chahti and Sanor was annexed; the Rana of Sagur was killed and his territory also seized. Kalian-Sen died in A.D. 1332 and was succeeded by his son, Hira-Sen.

Hira-Sen, c. A.D. 1332.—In Hira-Sen's reign the Kanhwal district was added to the State, but the Raja was killed in the struggle by the Rana of Gandharb, in A.D. 1360, and was succeeded by his brother, *Dharitri-Sen*. He in his turn was followed by *Narindar-Sen*, in *c.* A.D. 1400, by *Harjai-Sen*, in *c.* A.D. 1440, and *Dilawar-Sen*, in *c.* A.D. 1470.

During these reigns the work of conquest went on and the diminutive States owned by the Ranas and Thakurs were successively brought under one head, and became more or less subject to the central authority at Old Mandi. The work of consolidation was completed under Ajbar-Sen, A.D. 1500, an able and wise ruler, who also founded the present town of Mandi, and made it the capital.

Ajbar-Sen, A.D. 1500.[1]—Though many of the petty Chiefs had been made tributary, they were difficult to hold under control, and were constantly giving trouble. The same state of things existed in Kulu, where the Rajas, Sidh-Singh and Bahadur-Singh, were engaged about the same time in bringing the Ranas and Thakurs into submission, by every means in their power. On the left bank of the Bias, opposite Batahuli, was Sadhiana, where the town of Mandi now stands, which was the territory of Rana Gokal. This Rana had intrigued against the rising power of the Raja, and at the instigation of one Ghanda-Bisht he was killed, and his lands annexed. For this service a grant of land in *muafi* or freehold was conferred on Ghanda. The Ranas of Maratu, Kanhwal and Gandharb had also in a similar manner been unwilling to submit. They united their forces, of which more than half were archers, and advanced into the Balh plain to the south of Mandi, where they were defeated by Ajbar-Sen, and, in the pursuit, the Rana of Gandharb was killed. Chatar-Sen, the Raja's eldest son, then marched against the Rana of

[1] All the dates down to the reign of Ajbar-Sen are only approximate.

Maratu, but was defeated, and wounded in the leg, and three of the principal men of Mandi were slain. These men were brothers, and members of a Khatri family, and in recognition of their services the Raja made a grant of land from the conquered territory to a fourth brother, named Maksudan, under a title-deed engraved on a copper-plate, dated Vik. 1584=A.D. 1527, which is still in the possession of the family. The grant was made by Ajbar-Sen, but is signed by his son, Chatar-Sen. The family still reside in Mandi, though now of no importance.

In A.D. 1527, Ajbar-Sen, after acquiring the level tract on the left bank of the Bias, decided on changing the capital, and the present town of Mandi was founded by him. He also built the old palace with four towers, called Chauki, and now almost in ruins. The temple of Bhutnath in the middle of the town was also erected by him, and that of Triloknath by his queen, Suratrana or Sultana-Devi. The vernacular history states that the Ranas of Kamlah and Kalar became subject, and Chatar-Sen built a fort in the Kalar district named Lakargarh. Some of the Ranas surrendered their possessions and others became tributary, paying partly in cash and partly in kind. This tribute was called *mangni.*

Chatar-Sen, c. A.D. 1534.—According to one authority Chatar-Sen died in the lifetime of his father. Cunningham, on the other hand, records a reign of twenty years, during which nothing special seems to have occurred.

Sahib-Sen, c. A. D. 1554.—Sahib-Sen was a son of the previous Raja, and was married to Prakash-Dei, a daughter of the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur), who was a wise and pious lady. It is related of her, that having no issue she made a vow to Narain-Deva of Hurang, in Chuhar, that she would make golden images of the god out of her own ornaments if she were blessed with a son. Her prayers were soon answered and a son was born to her. As an act of merit she had a boat built for the ferry on the Bias, between Batahuli and Mandi, and also had many drinking fountains constructed along the main roads.

Sahib-Sen was much under the influence of his queen, and at her instigation he attacked the Rana of Drang and drove him out, thus acquiring the salt mines situated at that place. A fort at Jajru-Kupru is also associated with his name.

Sir Lepel Griffin[1] states that Sahib-Sen assisted Raja Jagat-Singh of Kulu in an attack on the Raja of Lag in Kulu, and at the partition of territory after the victory, Mandi received what is known as Saraj-Mandi and Kulu took the portion which now goes by the name of Saraj-Kulu. It is certain, however, that if this event took place in Sahib-Sen's reign, the Kulu Raja cannot have been Jagat-Singh, for he did not succeed till a much later date (*c.* A.D. 1637). It may have been Raja Bahadur-Singh, who we know conquered part of Saraj, or his son, Raja Partap-Singh. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag, the districts of Sanor and Badar were also annexed by Mandi; while Kulu obtained Pirkot, Madanpur, and twelve neighbouring villages.

Sahib-Sen was a contemporary of Akbar the Great, but there is no reference to the Mughals in the annals of his time. Probably the territory was too far in the interior of the hills to be directly influenced by Mughal rule, till a later period.

Narain-Sen, c. A.D. 1575.—Narain-Sen was a son of the previous Raja, and is said to have been of stunted growth as well as crippled and deformed. A story is told of his cure by an ascetic, named Sidh Chuni-Muni, who visited Mandi. At the request of the ascetic his disciples, who built a temple to him, receive one *patha* of grain from each hamlet in the State. The cess is in force to this day, and is called *pirpatha,* a *patha* being equal to eight *kachcha* sers, or a little over three *pakka* sers.[2]

Further extensions of territory were made during this reign; the Ranas of Ner, Pindoh and Chuhar were subdued, and seven *garhs* or *ilaqas* of Chuhar and five *garhs* of Pindoh were annexed to the State. He built the fort of Narain-garh, and annexed a large portion of Suket, fixing the boundary at Balh and Lohara. A large part of the country was still in the hands of Ranas and Thakurs, the principal of whom were at Baliana, Bhuhar, Saklana, Thonkan, Daleshari, Kothwan, Chatha, Khanwar, Karjonun, Rajehri, Ner and Lakrera. The Raja is said to have died of paralysis.

Kesava or Kesab-Sen, c. A.D. 1595.—There is nothing special about this Raja on record, but it is probable that in this or the previous reign Mandi came under Mughal control.[3] Early in Akbar's reign all the Panjab Hill States were made tributary, but they were left entirely free in the management

[1] *The Rajas of the Punjab,* page 576.
[2] In the Urdu History the story is told of Raja Hari-Sen (*c.* A. D. 1623).
[3] *Kangra Settlement Report,* page 8.

of their internal affairs. All that seems to have been required of them was an acknowledgment of the Emperor's supremacy by the annual payment of tribute, and the furnishing of a contingent for military expeditions when called upon to do so. On the accession of a Raja a fee of investiture was paid, and a *sanad* or patent of installation was then granted. The actual ceremony of installation was performed by the State officers in accordance with ancient custom.

Reference must here be made to the Sati monuments of the Mandi Rajas, of which that of Kesava or Kesab-Sen is the oldest of the later group. The custom of erecting stone pillars, like tombstones, as memorials to the dead, prevailed all over the inner hills, but in Mandi, Suket and Kulu it was regarded as a royal privilege. In ancient times it was customary among the Ranas. In most parts of the hills these pillars are only rough slabs set on end, with very primitive representations of the deceased cut on them. In Mandi, however, they are of a more elaborate character, and adorned with ornamental carvings. Most of them have an inscription in the Tankari characters, and are dated in the Lokakala or Era of the Seven Rishis, which from remote times has been current in the hills.

The Sati pillars of the Mandi Rajas and their families, locally known as *barselas,*[1] stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nala, a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are six and seven feet high, and all are carved with figures of the Rajas and of the women who became *sati* with them. Each Raja is represented as seated above, with a row of *ranis* or queens, also seated, immediately below: still lower are standing figures of *khawasis* or concubines and *rakhalis* or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Raja and the date of his death, as also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments are valuable for chronological purposes, as fixing with certainty the date of each Raja's demise and the accession of his successor, from Hari Sen, A.D. 1637, down to the present time. Only three are without an inscription, *viz.*, those of Kesava-Sen, Gur-Sen and Shiv-Jawala-Sen. Kesava-Sen probably died in A.D. 1623, and was succeeded by his son, Hari-Sen.

[1]Vide *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, page 123, plates XXIX and XXX. Older *barselas* are found at the Triloknath Temple in Old Mandi, but they contain no inscriptions. It is still the custom in Mandi to erect a *barsela* on the death of a Raja.

Hari-Sen, c. A.D. 1623.—It must have been during Hari-Sen's reign that an incident occurred which brought Chamba and Mandi into close relations. Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur had acquired a powerful influence at the Mughal court, and, encouraged by the favour shown him, he seems to have conceived the design of making himself paramount in the hills. He made encroachments on several of the Hill States, including Chamba, Basohli and Guler. Chamba was invaded and conquered in A.D. 1623, and Janardan, the heir-apparent, then acting as regent of the State, was assassinated. His son, Prithvi-Singh, then a boy of four years of age, was smuggled out of the palace by his nurse and conveyed to Mandi, where he remained for nearly seventeen years. In A.D. 1640 Jagat-Singh and his son Rajrup Singh rebelled against Shahjahan, and a strong Mughal army was sent against them, affording an opportunity to Prithvi-Singh to drive out the Nurpur officials and recover the State. This he did with the help of Mandi and Kulu.[1]

It is also believed that Jagat-Singh harboured evil designs upon Mandi, which seems to have been more or less under his control, as the tribute money due by the State is said to have been sometimes paid through him. This, however, may have been done while he was Faujdar of Kangra, in A.D. 1640-41.

Hari-Sen is said to have been a great hawker. He died in A.D. 1637, and was succeeded by his son, Surya or Suraj-Sen.

Suraj-Sen, c. A.D. 1637.—From Suraj-Sen's reign onwards the events of Mandi history are related in fuller detail and with greater chronological precision. Suraj-Sen was an ambitious Chief, but his efforts to extend his territory were often unfortunate, and only brought disaster on the State. From the records we learn that in his reign Mughal supremacy had been fully established, and Mandi, like the other Hill States, was tributary to the Empire.

A tradition has been handed down of an attempt by Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur to conquer Mandi by treachery, which is strangely in keeping with attempts of a similar character on some of the other States. It is said that he arranged a marriage for his daughter with Suraj-Sen, intending to assassinate his son-in-law during the marriage festivities at Nurpur. Suraj-Sen, however, received a hint from Jagat-Singh's *rani* of what was proposed, and secretly made his

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 88, 89, 90.

escape to Mandi. Seeing that his design had been discovered, Jagat-Singh made a show of sending the bride in state to Mandi in charge of his elder son, Rajrup; and after some delay the marriage ceremonies were completed.

Soon after coming into power Suraj-Sen sought to enlarge his boundaries towards the north, and made an attack on the Raja of Bangahal. This, however, brought the Raja (probably Jagat-Singh)[1] of Kulu into the field, and Suraj-Sen was defeated by the combined forces. The forts of Karanpur, Shahpur and Shamsherpur were captured by the Kulu Raja, who also took Dewal, Sansal and Ber from Bangahal, as the price of his assistance. Soon afterwards Suraj-Sen tried to recover the lost territory by invading Kulu, but was again defeated and driven back with loss. The salt mines of Guma and Drang fell into the enemy's hands, and, as a large part of the State revenue came from these mines, Suraj-Sen was compelled to sue for peace, and pay the expenses of the war, on which the lost territory was restored and the boundary fixed at Ber and Aiju as before.

Suraj-Sen was also unsuccessful in his struggle with Man-Singh of Guler, who twice sacked Mandi and held possession for some time of the district of Kalar, in which was situated the fortress of Kamlahgarh. This fortress is said to have been founded in A.D. 1625-30, and it was strongly fortified by Suraj-Sen, and was famous for its strength all over the hills. It has six distinct forts along the serrated ridge of the Sikandar ka Dhar, on the border of Mandi and Kangra; and is a conspicuous object from a long distance all round. The cliffs are almost perpendicular on three sides. The following description of the fortress is from "*The Rajas of the Punjab,*" by Sir Lepel Griffin:[2] "The hill upon which the fortress is situated extends nearly north and south for six or eight miles, running parallel to, and about ten miles from, the Janetri Devi in the east and the Bakar Khad on the west. The hill is formed of conglomerate sandstone, from 150 to 200 feet in height, while the ridge is narrow and serrated, and in several places intersected with deep ravines; the eastern and western sides presenting an uninterrupted scarp of from 40 to 150 feet along the whole length of the hill, except at the two approaches to the positions of Anantpur and Kamlah, which are guarded

[1] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, pages 571-72. *Cf.* Vigne's *Travels*, Volume I, page 111 *et seq.*; also Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 66-7.

[2] Griffin has *Man-Singh*, but this is probably incorrect as he was a contemporary of Sidh-Sen of Mandi.

by forts difficult of access. The ground for several miles round the hillside is intersected with tremendous ravines, which carry off the water either into the Sona or Bakar Khad, thus forming a most difficult country for the transport of artillery, and a most favourable one for defence by a determined body of men."

"The position of Anantpur contains five distinct forts, built in the irregular style usual in these hills, to suit the ground intended to be occupied and protected; *viz.*, Anantpur, Samirpur, Bakhtpur, Partabpur and Nayagila,—the last built by the Sikhs, though never completed; besides many smaller outworks. Within this position there is abundance of good water in two or three different springs, besides grass and wood. Although on two sides entirely impregnable and on the third extremely strong, Anantpur is commanded by a hill about 800 yards distant, and could certainly be scaled with ease under cover of guns from the neighbouring hills."

"Kamlah contains six distinct forts, *viz.*, Kamlah, Chauki, Chabara, Padampur, Shamsherpur and Narsinghpur. Although, like Anantpur, impregnable on two sides and nearly so on the third, where the gateway is reached by a ladder of about forty steps, yet the eastern side might be easily occupied by an enemy, if once in possession of Padampur. There is no spring of water in Kamlah itself, the spring for the supply of the place being some distance below, but like all hill forts it contains excellent tanks in which sufficient water for the supply of a small garrison for several months might easily be stored."

Mandi is said to have contained 360 forts in ancient times, but of these only ten are now in any state of preservation; while very few of them are garrisoned. Kamlahgarh was the repository for all the wealth of Mandi State, from the reign of Suraj-Sen to that of Ishwari-Sen, and the independence of the State has often depended on its chief fortress which is still held by a small garrison.

We have now to narrate the story of the later years of Suraj-Sen's reign. In A.D. 1653 he took the districts of Patri and Sulani from Suket, and in his conflicts with the Ranas, who still continued to maintain their power in some parts of the State, he was more successful than in his early wars. They seem to have been resident chiefly in the hilly and more difficult parts of the country around Kamlahgarh, at Sandhol and Chantha, and they were subdued and their

possessions annexed. Kanhwal was acquired from Kangra as dowry with the Raja's daughter on her marriage to Suraj-Sen.

Only one Rana now remained—that of Anantpur—who resided at Anantpur Fort, which was strongly situated and difficult of capture. At that time Suraj-Sen had as his Wazir one Jalpu, who devised a plan for the reduction of the fort by treachery. It was arranged that the Raja should feign anger with Jalpu and dismiss him in disgrace. On this being done, Jalpu retired to Anantpur and entered the service of the Rana, and in course of time so gained his confidence that he was made *dharm-bhai* to the *rani*. Having succeeded so far in his designs, Jalpu then asked permission to bring the ladies of his family, with other female relations, on a visit for *puja*, to the shrine of the Devi which was within the fort. This request being granted, Jalpu sent secretly to Suraj-Sen to provide eighteen *palkis*, with ten sets of armour in each, and ten bearers to each *palki*, who were soldiers in disguise. On reaching the fort of Anantpur the procession was admitted, and the bearers then seized their arms and made an assault on the defenders. The Rana was killed and the fort captured.[1] The *rani* then became *sati*, but before going to the pyre she pronounced a curse on Jalpu and his descendants, which is said to have been fulfilled; all his family being lame, deaf, deformed or imbecile. Suraj-Sen built the palace in Mandi, called Damdama. He is also said to have introduced a fixed revenue assessment of grain and cash, but no details are known.

Suraj-Sen had eighteen sons, all of whom died in his own lifetime, and despairing of an heir he caused a silver image to be made, which he named Madho-Rai, and to which he assigned the kingdom. It bears an inscription in Sanskrit of which the translation is as follows: "Surya-Sena, lord of the earth and destroyer of his rivals, had this blameless image of the blessed Discus-bearer, and Master (guru) of all the gods, the illustrious Madho-Rai, made by Bhima the goldsmith, in the year Vik. 1705, on Thursday, the 15th Phagan." This date corresponds to March, A.D. 1648.[2]

At the Sivratri, Madho-Rai, the god, leads the procession, being followed by the Raja. The gods of the *ilaqas* do homage to Madho-Rai first and then to the Raja.

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[1] A similar story is told in the history of Kangra.

[2] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, page 578. The above is the correct translation. About the same time Raja Jagat-Singh of Kulu made over his kingdom to Raghunathji in a similar manner.

Suraj-Sen's daughter was married to Hari-Deo of Jammu. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Shyam-Sen, who had been absent from Mandi during the later years of his brother's reign, on pilgrimage to Benares and Jagannath. On his return he resided chiefly in Chamba. Probably he and Prithvi-Singh of Chamba had become intimately acquainted, when the latter was living in Mandi.

Shyam-Sen, c. A.D. 1664.—Feeling that his end was near, Suraj-Sen sent a message recalling his brother to Mandi, but it is uncertain if Shyam-Sen arrived in time. A pathetic story is told of the funeral, when Suraj-Sen's *ranis* became *sati*. They sent to the treasury for money to give away in charity, but found all under lock and key. In their vexation and disappointment they threw down a dagger on the wall of Damdama palace, and the impress left is there to this day.[1]

Shyam-Sen must have been in middle life at the time of his accession, and his reign was not a long one. He retained the old officials in office and carried on the administration through them. Shortly afterwards a Mughal army invaded Kahlur (Bilaspur) and the Raja appealed to Shyam-Sen for help, which was at once given. There was some considerable loss, and, on the termination of the war, Shyam-Sen granted land in freehold, still called "*barto*," to the families of all who had fallen in the campaign. With the reign of Shyam-Sen a new era in the history of Mandi is reached. We no longer hear of conflicts with Ranas and Thakurs, all or almost all of whom had now been reduced to complete submission, or expelled from their lands. In their place, however, other opponents came to the front, who demanded strenuous exertions on the part of the Mandi Rajas to overcome them. Chief among these were the Rajas of Suket, who were jealous of the rapid rise of the new principality, largely at the expense of their own. As Sir Lepel Griffin remarks:[2] "Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little to show on either side as the result of their warfare. When a powerful Raja ruled at Suket he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time the Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner when a powerful Chief ruled in Mandi the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Balh, lying between

[1] The following curse is said to have been uttered at the time — *Mandi namakharamon ki parol;* meaning, that faithless servants will always prosper in Mandi.

[2] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, page 579.

the two capitals, was common ground of desire and dispute." This plain, ten miles long by two broad, was the scene of many a conflict, and the story of one, which sounds like a repetition of Chevy Chase, is still sung in Mandi ballads. Jit-Sen was then ruler of Suket and he cherished a strong feeling of malice against Shyam-Sen of Mandi, to whom, on account of his dark colour (hence the name Shyam), he gave the nickname of Tikkarnath, meaning "a dark coloured pan." The agent of Mandi, who had gone with a letter to Suket, was one day asked mockingly what Tikkarnath was doing. To this he gave the Suket Raja the ready answer, that Tikkarnath was red hot and ready for parching grain. On hearing of this insult, Shyam-Sen's anger was aroused and he determined on an invasion of Suket. Accompanied by his heir-apparent, Gaur-Sen, he advanced with a large army into the Balh plain, and in the battle of Lohara he completely routed the Suket Chief. Jit-Sen fled towards his capital, but was pursued by a Katoch, or Kangra man, in the service of Mandi; who was about to kill him, when he begged for his life, as being a royal prince. His life was spared, but the Katoch snatched the insignia of royalty from his head-dress, which he carried back to his master, who assigned him and his descendants in perpetuity a quantity of salt from the Drang mine, which is still duly paid. The Lohara *ilaqa* was then annexed to Mandi. Gaur-Sen was wounded in the battle but recovered. A very large kettledrum known by the name of *Naqara Khandi Rao* and a *Jalchar* (copper basin to heat water for bathing purposes) were plundered, and these are still preserved with pride as booty of the battle of Lohara.

From this time onward, Mandi gradually got the upper hand, and gained possession of much of the territory, which had till then been in the hands of the parent State.

Shyam-Sen built the famous temple of Shyam-Kali on the hill adjoining Mandi town, at an altitude of 3,000 feet above sea level. There a fair is held for nine days annually in the month of Asuj, and all the children of the royal family are taken there, for the ceremonies which are performed eight days after birth. Shyam-Sen died in A.D. 1679 and was succeeded by his son, Gaur-Sen.

Gaur-Sen, A.D. 1679.—Gaur Sen continued the work of conquest begun by his father, and with the assistance of Bilaspur he conquered and annexed the *garhs* or districts of Dhanyara, Bera and Patri from Suket. He too like his father was an ardent pilgrim and visited the holy places, including Jagan-

nath, whence he brought an image and set it up in a shrine outside Mandi Town. He reigned only five years and died in A.D. 1684. It is said that in his reign or that of Sidh-Sen, Raja Man Singh of Kulu retook some forts in Chuhar, but his army was routed and he was compelled to sue for peace. A dagger was presented by him to Gaur-Sen which is still preserved in the armoury of the State Treasury. A Mughal army under Jafir Beg also invaded Mandi in this reign, but, on hearing of the death of the Nawab of Sirhind, they retired in disorder.

Sidh-Sen, A.D. 1684.—Sidh-Sen, who now came to the throne, was a great warrior, and added large territories to the State at the expense of Bangahal, Suket and Kulu. The Wazir of the State during the early part of this reign was Mian Jippu, an illegitimate brother of Gaur-Sen, and a man of great ability. The administration was entirely in his hands, and he inaugurated the revenue system which remained in force till the Regular Settlement in 1917. He framed rules restricting expenditure on betrothals and weddings. He also introduced a system of State loans, whereby a man could borrow grain from the State stores, the loans being repaid at the next harvest, *plus sawai, i.e.*, 1¼ of the amount borrowed. Failing repayment a fresh bond was written every four years, in which the principal was doubled. One *paisa* per rupee per mensem, nearly 25 per cent. per annum, was charged as interest on cash loans.

During this period the land-revenue was paid chiefly in kind. If the fixed cash revenue demand could not be paid in silver, the current copper coins were received with the addition of three *takkas, i.e.*, one anna and a half per rupee.

Among the acquisitions of territory from Suket made by Sidh-Sen were the districts of Nachan, Hatli and Lad, in A.D. 1688. He also stormed the forts of Mastgarh, Maidangarh, Dhangiara and Anandgarh. In A.D. 1690, he captured the forts of Dhanesargarh and Sarakpur, and recovered Sivapur. He also built the fort of Sidhkot. In A.D. 1698 Raipur was taken from Suket and Madhopur in the following year, and in A.D. 1706 he recaptured Hatli and ravaged the Ladh district belonging to Hamir Chand, Katoch.

A portion of Bangahal was also added to Mandi during this reign. Bangahal had long been a distinct principality under its own Raja, with the capital at Bir-Bangahal. It included most of the country along the outskirts of the Dhaula-Dhar between Kangra and Kulu,—now called Chhota-

Bangahal,—and a large portion of territory north of the Bias, now in Mandi, as also Bara-Bangahal at the head of the Ravi Valley, and Paprola and Lanod, now in Kangra. Prithi-Pal, Raja of Bangahal, had married a daughter of the Mandi Chief, while his own sister was the wife of Raja Man-Singh of Kulu. Sidh-Sen sought to annex the territory to his dominions by treachery, and Prithi-Pal was invited to Mandi on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket. He was received with all honour, but within a month he was inveigled into the Damdama Palace and murdered.[1] His body was burnt, but his head was buried in front of the palace, on the spot now marked by a pillar in the middle of a tank, on which a light is kept burning every night. The tank was made by Sidh-Sen, probably some time after the burial. On the murder becoming known, Raja Man-Singh of Kulu put forward a claim and annexed Bara-Bangahal and Chhota-Bangahal except a part of Bir-Bangahal, while a similar claim was made by Kangra. In the end Mandi profited little by the treacherous deed.

The Kulu annals state that at a later period the Mandi Raja, probably Sidh-Sen, invaded Kulu, but was compelled to retreat ; and Man-Singh of Kulu then overran the northern portion of Mandi, as far as the salt mines of Guma and Drang. He was, however, prevailed upon to retire on the payment of a large sum of money, probably in name of *nazarana* or tribute.

Guru Gobind-Singh is said to have visited Mandi in the reign of Sidh-Sen, towards the end of the seventeenth century. He was on his way back from Kulu, where he had gone to ask help against the Muhammadans, and was badly treated and imprisoned in a cage. The Mandi Raja gave him an honourable reception and entertained him hospitably. On his departure the Raja was told to ask anything he wished, and he requested an assurance that his capital would never be occupied by an enemy. Thereupon the Guru gave utterance to the following cryptic couplet :[2]—

Mandi ko jab lutenge, Asmani gole chutenge.

(When Mandi is plundered, heavenly balls will be fired.)

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[1] Prithi-Pal, while in Mandi, is said to have intrigued with the Raja of Suket, who sent 200 men to help him. On this becoming known, Prithi-Pal, fearing the consequences, tried to escape but was pursued and captured at Bagwain. He was then confined in the Damdama Palace, and soon afterwards murdered. The story of Sidh-Sen's treachery is the subject of a popular ballad.

[2] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, pages 580-1.

Mr. Vigne,[1] the traveller, who visited Mandi soon after the accession of Raja Balbir-Sen in 1839, states that, for some superstitious notion, connected with the saying of the Guru, no servant of Ranjit-Singh had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of the revenue was quartered outside the town, and the Maharaja's officer in attendance did not enter it while Mr. Vigne remained there.

Tradition asserts that Sidh-Sen himself possessed miraculous powers, and he is credited with having had a little book of charms and spells, by means of which he exercised a supernatural influence on the demons and compelled them to obey him. When dying he threw the book into the Bias. On this Sir Lepel Griffin remarks :—" The truth seems to be that Sidh-Sen was more intelligent than his people, and his uniform success was attributed to supernatural agency."

Sidh-Sen is believed to have been of enormous stature, and some clothes, said to have been his, are still preserved in Mandi Palace, which could only have been worn by a giant.

He built the temple of Sidh-Ganesh, two miles from Mandi, and that of Sidhbhadra near the river. His reign lasted for forty-one years, and he is said to have been a hundred years old at the time of his death. His son, Shiv-Jawala-Sen, is said to have died in A.D. 1722, that is, five years before his father, but there is some uncertainty regarding this event. The Mandi Chronicles state that he reigned three years, but this may only mean that he acted as co-ruler of the State with his father for three years before his death, as indeed he is said to have done. Cunningham is evidently wrong in assigning his reign to the period from A.D. 1727 to 1750.

Shamsher-Sen, A.D. 1727-81.—Shamsher-Sen was the son of Shiv-Jawala-Sen[2] and succeeded to the *gaddi* at the age of five, his reign was thus a very long one. During his minority the administration was carried on by Mian Juppu, an illegitimate brother of Sidh-Sen, and to him was entrusted the tutelage of the young Chief. Soon after his accession a matrimonial alliance was arranged between Shamsher-Sen and a daughter of Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1720-35). This event lends corroboration to the conclusion that Shamsher-Sen directly followed Sidh-Sen in the succession.

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[1] *Vide* Vigne's *Travels*, Volume I, pages 99-100.

[2] It is said that Shiv-Jawala-Singh left two sons, infants, by separate *ranis*, and born at the same time. To decide which should succeed, Sidh-Sen placed a sword and a pile of dust before them. One touched the sword and the other the dust, hence the names. Shamsher, ' sword '; Dhúrchatia, ' dust-eater '; from *dhúr*-dust and *chatna*-to taste.

Soon afterwards an outbreak took place in Kulu which resulted in the addition of a district to Mandi. Raja Jai-Singh (A.D. 1731-42) was driven out of his territory and took refuge in Lahore, and during the confusion Mandi was able to seize the Chuhar *ilaqa*, which with only one short interval has remained State territory ever since. The forts of Amargarh, Deogarh, Mastpur and Sari were also captured.

Shamsher-Sen seems to have been of weak intellect, and as he grew up to manhood he fell under the evil influence of people of low social status, who used their power to their own advantage and the injury of the State.

By this time Mian Juppu, the able and faithful Minister, had been removed by death. While he lived he and the queen-mother, a daughter of the Rana of Hatli, managed the State affairs with great discretion. After the *rani's* death, the Raja became addicted to low company, and a feeling of distrust and alienation arose between him and Juppu. Enemies of the Minister probably did their utmost to foment this feeling. It is indeed said that the *rani* and Juppu did not agree, and that she was hostile to him, but there is no documentary evidence of importance to support this. However the case may be, so much is certain, that Juppu had aroused the enmity of two powerful men, named Har-Das and Dharmnath, and at their instigation he was murdered. The Raja was so incensed at the crime that he ordered the murderers to be executed.

The tragic end of Mian Juppu left a gap in the administration which was partially filled by Dhúrchatia, younger brother of the Raja, who now came into the arena of public affairs.

Till A.D. 1752 the Hill States had been under the rule of the Mughal Empire, but in that year Mughal supremacy came to an end with the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani. The Afghans, however, were never able to exercise more than a nominal control over the eastern Hill States, all of which regained their independence. Nawab Adina Beg Khan was then Suba or Governor of Jalandhar and used to make incursions into the hills. In 1745-46 he advanced with an army to Guler and then to Bangahal, intending to invade Mandi, but soon retired on finding that Kamlahgarh was too strong to be stormed.

The name of Adina Beg Khan[1] is often referred to in the vernacular history of the State, and it seems probable that Mandi was more or less under his control. This remarkable man had risen from a humble position, and by his ability had attracted the notice of Zakariya Khan, Viceroy of Lahore, by whom he was made Kardar of Sultanpur and then of Bahrampur in Gurdaspur.[2] About A.D. 1743-44 he was advanced to the position of Governor of Jalandhar,—an office which he held till 1756, when he became Viceroy of the Panjab. On the Maratha conquest of the province in 1758 he was appointed their Viceroy, but died in the same year. For a time in 1758 he held sway over the whole of the Kangra hills, and all the Hill States and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra, were compelled to submit to him.[3] On his demise Mandi must have come soon afterwards under the influence of the Sikhs, though no mention of them occurs in the history till after 1781—in the reign of Surma-Sen.

The later years of Shamsher-Sen's reign were embittered by dissensions at home. Dhúrchatia, his younger brother and minister, had gradually acquired so much power that even the Raja was afraid of him. All the Mians or royal kinsmen were entirely at his bidding, and it is even said that he proposed to set aside the heir-apparent—Surma-Sen—or put him out of the way, so as to open the way to the *gaddi* for himself.

Surma-Sen had, as his companion and tutor, a young Brahman named Bairagi Ram, and when it became evident that the young prince's life was in danger, the two in company fled to Suket and Bilaspur, and then to Nadaun, where an asylum was found at the Katoch Court with Raja Sansar-Chand. After some time they returned with a force and expelled the Mians, Dhurchatia taking refuge in Suket. Shamsher-Sen died in A.D. 1781, having reigned for 54 years.[4]

Surma-Sen, A.D. 1781.—Sir Lepel Griffin makes no mention of this Raja, though he is well spoken of in the records. His early training had been in the school of adversity, and out of those trying vicissitudes of life he came with a firm resolve

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[1] He founded the town of Dinanagar, near Gurdaspur, which he named after himself, and often resided there, originally Adinanagar.

[2] *Vide* Latif, *History of the Punjab*, page 232.

[3] Adina Beg seems to have been practically independent from 1752 till his death in 1758.

[4] A document in the Chamba Archives states that Shamsher-Sen, Surma-Sen, his son, Sansar-Chand of Kangra, and Raj-Singh of Chamba, in 1778, entered into an agreement to invade Makarsa (Kulu) and seize Bangahal. Cf. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 69 *c*. 18.

not to let the Mians, his kinsmen, have the upper hand. The result was that they and the officials had a wholesome fear of him, and, as the Chronicle naively remarks, " in his reign all Mians were powerless and the State prospered." Had these pregnant words been laid to heart, the State would have been saved much trouble. Bairagi Ram, his Brahman tutor, became his Wazir, and ruled the State wisely.

Meanwhile events of great importance to Mandi were ripening in Kangra.[1] On the decline of the Mughal power and cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah in 1752, the Raja of Kangra assumed independence and recovered all the territory of which his ancestors had been deprived. Kangra Fort, the ancient capital of the kingdom, alone held out, under the command of the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kangra hills, named Saif Ali Khan, who continued to maintain his position against all assailants for more than forty years. In 1775, Sansar-Chand succeeded to the throne of Kangra, and soon afterwards, in conjunction with Jai Singh Kanheya, he made strong efforts to capture the fort, but without success. In 1783, however, it fell by stratagem into the hands of Jai-Singh, and Sansar-Chand had to wait till 1786, when the Sikh Chieftain, having been defeated on the plains, was compelled to retire from the hills, and he surrendered the fort into Sansar-Chand's hands. With the prestige which the possession of the fort conferred, Sansar-Chand claimed paramount authority over all the other States and compelled them to pay tribute and supply contingents for his military expeditions. Mandi had to acknowledge his supremacy and supply a contingent for the invasion of Kulu.[2]

Surma-Sen died in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ishwari-Sen, a boy only four years old.

Ishwari-Sen, A.D. 1788.—The Raja being a minor, the administration remained in the hands of Bairagi Ram, who had been Wazir all through the previous reign; and during the long minority the fortunes of the State were reduced to their lowest ebb. When Surma-Sen's strong hand was withdrawn, the Mians again began to give trouble, with the object of turning the Wazir out of office. Seeing their intention he applied for help to Raja Sansar-Chand, of Kangra,

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[1] *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 9-10.

[2] A document exists in Chamba containing an agreement between Chamba, Kahlur and Mandi to conquer Makarsa (Kulu) and divide it equally among them. It is dated in 1786. Cf. *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 71, *c*. 39.

who was only too ready to avail himself of the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the State. About 1792 he invaded Mandi and plundered the capital. The Raja of Suket tendered his allegiance and was rewarded with the rich district of Hatli; that of Chuhar was given to Kulu, and Anantpur Sansar-Chand retained in his own hands. The Raja, Ishwari Sen, was conveyed to Tira-Sujanpur and detained a prisoner at Sansar-Chand's court for twelve years. Meanwhile the State was left in the hands of its ministers, and ordered to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees. Deprived of the presence of their ruler and robbed of some of the richest provinces, Mandi continued to struggle on against its hard lot, but to little purpose. Kamlahgarh alone was saved from falling into Sansar-Chand's hands, though he made various efforts to obtain possession of it.

By the end of the eighteenth century Sansar-Chand had completely established his power in the hills and won for himself a renown such as had never been approached by any of his ancestors.[1] The rulers of all the other Hill States stood in awe of him, and he carried matters with such a high-hand that none dared to resist his will. But his boundless ambition was in the end the cause of his own ruin, as well as of most of the other States. In 1803-04 he twice invaded the plains in the neighbourhood of Hoshiarpur, but was defeated and driven back into the hills by Ranjit Singh, who was then rising into power. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilaspur), and annexed a portion of the territory on the right bank of the Satluj. The Kahlur Chief was unable to oppose him, but determined on retaliation, and he appealed to the Gurkhas for help.

In order to make the course of events clear to the reader, it is necessary to explain that before 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepal had entered on a career of conquest, and subdued the entire hill country between the Gogra and Satluj. It is said that they were ambitious of conquering the hill tracts as far west as Kashmir, and even of establishing their power in the Panjab plains. The invitation of the Bilaspur Raja was thus in keeping with their ulterior designs, and it was supported by the rulers of all the States to the west of the Satluj as far as the Ravi. These all formed a confederation against Sansar-Chand, and took an oath of fidelity to Amar-Singh Thapa, the Commander of the Gurkha forces, and sent their

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[1] Vide *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 10-11.

contingents, to the number of 10,000 men, to help in the war.[1] Sansar-Chand was defeated at Mahal Mori, and had to retreat to Kangra, pursued by the Gurkhas. On their advance, Ishwari-Sen of Mandi was liberated from his confinement and gave in his submission to the Gurkhas, on condition of being left in unmolested possession of his territory; and promising, on his part, to make no opposition to the occupation of Kangra. The siege of Kangra Fort lasted for four years, but the Gurkhas were unable to capture it. They laid waste the country and reduced Sansar-Chand to such extremities that he was constrained to ask help from Ranjit Singh. This was agreed to on condition that Kangra Fort and the district of Bandhota should be ceded. Ranjit Singh, in May 1809, advanced into the hills with a large army and a treaty having been concluded at Jwalamukhi, he compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj.[2]

In being freed from the Gurkhas, however, Sansar-Chand only came within the grasp of a more dangerous and rapacious foe, and from that time Kangra and all the other States became tributary to Ranjit-Singh. Mandi was made to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000. Sardar Desa-Singh Majithia was the first Sikh Nazim or Governor of the Kangra hills, and in 1815 he raised the *nazarana* to one lakh, but in 1816 or 1817 it was again reduced by judicious bribery to Rs. 50,000. As some small compensation, the districts alienated by Sansar-Chand were restored to the State. Jemadar Khushal-Singh seems to have been generally the officer appointed to collect the tribute.

Raja Ishwari-Sen had a younger brother, named Zalim-Singh, who was constantly engaged in intrigues against him, causing much injury and loss to the State. The increase in the tribute money was chiefly the outcome of these intrigues, which reached a climax when Zalim-Singh betook himself to the Sikh court at Lahore. There he offered to pay a large tribute if made Raja in place of his brother. Ranjit-Singh had a strong antipathy to the Rajput Chiefs of the hills, as representing the ancient aristocracy of the country, who regarded him with disdain as of inferior birth and rank to themselves. He was therefore all the readier to take advantage of their own internal dissensions to inflict injury upon them. On the occasion referred to, however, a reconciliation was

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[1] Basohli, Mankot, Jasrota and Jammu also joined the confederation against Sansar-Chand.

[2] *Kangra Settlement Report*, pages 10-11.

effected between the two brothers and the crisis passed. The remainder of Ishwari-Sen's reign was uneventful.

During the latter part of this reign Mandi offered an asylum to two *ex*-Rajas, and made liberal provision for them. One of these was the *ex*-Raja of Bashahr who lived there for a considerable time. The other was the *ex*-Raja of Nagpur, who resided in Mandi for four years, after having been driven out of his territory. He was busy all the time intriguing with Lahore in the hope of being allowed to raise troops. On the death of Ishwari-Sen he sought an asylum elsewhere.[1]

William Moorcroft, the traveller, was the first European to visit Mandi, in March 1820. He came by way of Bilaspur and Suket. Leaving his camp at Mandi in charge of Mr. Trebeck he went to Lahore to obtain the permission of Ranjit-Singh for his journey northwards, and returned *via* Nadaun, Tira-Sujanpur, Baijnath and Guma, and thence over the Dulchi Pass into Kulu.[2]

His narrative is interesting, and we give it in full: "Having resumed our route (from Suket) and entered the Mandi territory we were met by a body of men armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, and swords, headed by the commandant of the fort of Ner, on the left of our path, who prohibited our further progress, without positive orders from the Raja to sanction our proceeding. A letter was therefore despatched, requesting the Raja's permission to traverse his district, and sent off by one of my people who was acquainted with the country."

"In the evening the messenger returned with information that some Sikhs, who were at Mandi, for the purpose of receiving tribute, had threatened the Raja with the displeasure of Ranjit-Singh, if he suffered us to pass through his country, and shortly afterwards came a letter from the Sikh Sardars, desiring us to remain where we were until an answer from their master, to whom information of our coming had been communicated, could be received. To this I replied, that I was simply a merchant travelling to Lé with goods for sale, on which I was willing to pay all customary duties; I knew of no reason they could have for detaining me, and that, if they persisted in their purpose, I would have recourse to their Chief and repair myself to Lahore. After some discussion they

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[1] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, page 583; Prinsep's *History of the Punjab*, Volume II, pages 55-6; Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 109-110.

[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 45-6-7.

were obliged to consent to this arrangement, and accordingly, taking a few of my people with me, I left the rest and all the merchandise under charge of my young friend and companion, Mr. Trebeck, at Dhansi, the place at which we were encamped. The Raja of Mandi promised to watch over its security, and furnish every facility that might be desired for its conveyance and disposal, as well as provide supplies for the people. He repeatedly assured me of his regret at opposing an impediment in my way, and of his being compelled so to act against his wishes by fear of the Sikhs ; he even offered to allow us to proceed, if I would take all the responsibility upon myself, and assure him of the countenance of my government. As, however, I was travelling in a mercantile character alone, without pretending to any political authority, I declined making him this assurance and, thanking him for his civility and friendly intention, persevered in my determination to appeal in person to Ranjit-Singh."

Mr. Moorcroft then proceeded to Lahore, returning by Nadaun, Tira-Sujanpur and Baijnath, while Mr. Trebeck, his companion, remained at Mandi, and afterwards rejoined Mr. Moorcroft in Kulu. He says :[1] "After a detention of some weeks we quitted Mandi on the 11th of July. The town presents little worthy of notice, although it is of some extent, being fully thrice as large as Kulu. It is situated in the angle between the Byas and Sukheti rivers. The most conspicuous object is the palace of the Raja, which stands in the southern part of the town, and presents a number of tall white buildings, with roofs of blue slate, concave like those of Chinese pagodas. The general appearance of the houses resembles that of the buildings at Almora. Close to the entrance of the town are several pilasters and smaller blocks of stone, bearing representations in relief of the Rajas of Mandi. One of these is set up on the death of each Raja, and sometimes on the demise of his relations. Each is sculptured also with the figures of his wives who have been burnt with him, a practice carried here to a frighthful extent. On several occasions, I am told, the number of these victims of superstition has exceeded thirty. A very good *ghat* cut in the rock leads to the river, which is crossed by a crazy ferry-boat. Most of our baggage was carried across on skins. The breadth of the river varies, as the high rocky banks recede. In one place it was two hundred yards across, and opposite to where we encamped it was above one hundred and fifty yards. In some places where the

[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 172-3-4.

bank is shelving, the river beats up it with a considerable surf. The depth varies : it was two fathoms where we brought to, but in some parts along the bank it was much more shallow. It undergoes, however, a periodical rise and fall every day owing to the melting of the snow on the mountains, where it rises as the heat of the sun increases. The effect of this is felt at Mandi in the evening. The river then begins to swell and continues rising through the night. In the morning it declines, and through the day loses considerably, perhaps one-third of its body of water."

" Near Mandi, on the opposite side of the Sukheti river, is a large temple, dedicated to an image which, five generations, or above two centuries ago, was purchased by an ancestor of the Raja at Jagannath for seven hundred rupees, and was brought here at great expense."

" The Raja of Mandi, Ishwari-Sen, is a short stout man, about thirty-five, of limited understanding and extreme timidity. The latter he inherits from his father, of whom it is asserted that he passed an order that no gun should be fired off in his country. In his infancy he was either a ward or a prisoner to Sansar-Chand, and he was indebted to the Gurkhas for restoration to his Raj. He assisted them in their invasion of Kangra and also aided Ranjit-Singh in his operations against Kangra and Kulu. This has not preserved him from the fate of the other Hill Rajas. He is tributary to the Sikh, and treated by him with contumely and oppression."

Zalim-Sen, A.D. 1826.—On the death of Ishwari-Sen without legitimate male heirs, his brother, Zalim-Sen, succeeded to the *gaddi*. He had, however, to pay a lakh of rupees as succession duty to Lahore, and the tribute was fixed at Rs. 75,000.

Zalim-Sen was cruel and capricious, and his oppressive methods in extorting money from his people have become proverbial.

It is said that when the succession duty came to be paid, the treasury was unequal to the burden, and it was made up by exactions from bankers and traders, and the wealthy families were almost ruined by these exactions. A tax on the collections of revenue, called *Balich*, taken from village and local officials, was also an exaction which caused much discontent.

Zalim-Sen, alienated from himself the loyalty of all classes of his people, by his instigation of the murder of Dhari, the Wazir of the State, whose interest with Ranjit-Singh had saved the country from annexation.

Some years before his death, Zalim-Sen made over the administration to his nephew, Balbir-Sen, one of the younger sons of Ishwari-Sen by a concubine, to the exclusion of his uncle. This act is all the more remarkable that it deprived Zalim-Sen's own illegitimate son of the right of succession. But the formal declaration of Zalim-Sen in his own lifetime settled the matter against all opposition, and the Lahore Court was easily prevailed upon to acknowledge the succession, by the payment of a large sum, in name of succession duty. Zalim-Sen died in 1839.

Balbir-Sen, A.D. 1839.—The succession of Balbir-Sen was keenly resented by the Mians, and more especially by the descendants of Dhúrchatia, the younger brother of Shamsher-Sen, who were in the legitimate line of descent. The Raja was twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession; and two months afterwards Mandi was visited by Mr. Vigne in the course of his journey through the hills. He speaks of Balbir-Sen in the following terms: "The young Raja himself is short and stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European-like countenance. He was uncommonly civil and prodigal of his expressions of regard and friendship for the English, and, unlike many other Rajas, he allowed me to depart when I wished, without pressing me to stay a day longer than suited my convenience."[1]

"The palace at Mandi is a long barrack-like, but not unpicturesque, building, with whitened walls, gable ends and slated roofs. Before it is a large oak, and on the west of it is a garden in which the Raja had pitched a tent for me. The walks, as is the case generally in the east, were straight, and raised above the surface of the borders so that they could not be injured by the system of irrigation which is universally practised. The borders themselves were covered with but one mass of orange, shaddock, and citron trees which were loaded with a profusion of fruit. The bazar is large and well stocked for so insignificant a place. A large proportion of the town is on the opposite side of the Beyas, and accessible by

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 77-80-1-2-3.
[2] *Ibid*, pages 79 to 84.

a large ferry-boat. The river passes the town from east to west and immediately turns due north, and continues in the same direction for about four miles, which is singular, considering how near it is to its debouchure on the plains. It is very deep at Mandi, and flights of steps, or *ghats*, Hindu images and a large figure of the monkey god, Huniman, have been sculptured on the rock by the river-side, and Thakurdevaras or Hindu temples, are conspicuous in different places of the town."

"I partook of the Rajah's hospitality in a part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco, on a snow-white wall. The dinner he gave me consisted of the usual eastern delicacies : rice, curries, sweet-meats and sherbets ; and I afterwards received the customary *khillat* or dress of honour, which said *khillat* is generally made up of a Kashmir shawl or two, of little value, pieces of the *kimkab*, or broacade of Benares, and several pieces of different stuffs, usually the produce of Kashmir or peculiar to the country of the donor." While in Mandi Mr. Vigne witnessed the rite of *sati* which he fully describes : "One morning my munshi came to me, and told me that a *sati* (Suttee), or widow who was going to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was about to pass by the garden gate. I hastened to obtain a sight of her. She was dressed in her gayest attire ; a large crowd of persons followed her, as she walked forward with a hurried and faltering step, like that of a person about to faint. A Brahman supported her on either side, and these as well as many around were calling loudly and almost fiercely upon the different Hindu deities, and the name which was most repeatedly and most earnestly called upon was that of Jaggannath, but I do not know whether they alluded to the great idol of Bengal, or to some local divinity................ Her countenance had assumed a sickly and ghastly appearance, which was partly owing to internal agitation, and partly, so I was informed, to the effects of opium and bang and other narcotics, with which she had been previously drugged in order to render her less awake to the misery of her situation. She was not, however, so insensible to what was passing as to be inattentive to two persons in particular, amongst several others, who were stooping before her, and were evidently imploring her blessing,—they were probably near relations. She was presented at intervals with a plate of moist red colour, in which saffron was no doubt an ingredient, and into this she dipped the ends

of her fingers, and then impressed them on the shoulders of the persons who stooped before her in order to be thus marked."

"In about half-an-hour the preparations were completed. She was regularly thatched in, upon the top of the pile, whilst her husband's body yet lay outside. It was finally lifted up to her ; the head, as usual, and which is the most interesting part of the ceremony, was received upon her lap ; the fire was applied in different parts, and all was so quickly enveloped in a shroud of mingled flame and smoke, that I believe her sufferings to have been of very short duration, as she must almost immediately have been suffocated."

Ranjit-Singh died in 1839, and the affairs of the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. Maharaja Kharak Singh was weak and incapable, and all power came into the hands of his son, Nau-Nihal-Singh. The Sikh army, which had long been difficult to control, became dangerous to the State when not actively employed, and among other ways of diverting its attention the conquest of Mandi and Kulu was determined on, though these States had given no cause for offence. At that time the conquest of Ladakh and Tibet was much talked of at Lahore, and before an expedition was despatched it was thought necessary to reduce Mandi completely, and especially not to leave in the rear the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh.

Accordingly in June 1840 a strong force under General Ventura was sent to Mandi, and advanced to within seven miles of the capital. From there General Ventura sent to demand immediate payment of certain arrears of tribute, which formed the ostensible excuse for the expedition. This demand was at once complied with.

Balbir-Sen, frightened at the forces sent against him, wrote to Col. Tapp, Political Agent, at Sabathu, begging for an asylum for himself and his family in British Territory. He saw clearly that the extinction of the State had been resolved upon. The Government offered an asylum, but did not think it advisable to receive the Raja's family as political refugees, or to promise any help against the invaders.

Having paid the tribute, Balbir-Sen was ordered to wait on the Sikh general in his camp, on the pretence of receiving a *khillat* or dress of honour. On his arrival he was

made prisoner and required to surrender all the forts in Mandi. The Raja of Suket gave in his allegiance, and played into the hands of the Sikhs against Mandi,—an act which tended to increase the feeling of hostility between the two States. Mandi town was occupied, and Balbir-Sen, being helpless, agreed to every demand, and the forts were surrendered after a feeble resistance. Even Kamlahgarh was captured in November of the same year, after a three months' siege. The Raja was sent as a prisoner to Amritsar and confined in the fort of Govindgarh. General Ventura then subdued the country and advanced into Kulu, after which he returned to Lahore in December bearing the trophies of 200 hill forts.

On General Ventura's withdrawal a small Sikh force was left at Mandi under Colonel Foulkes, a young English adventurer in the service of the Sikhs, who had distinguished himself during the siege of Kamlahgarh. The force mutinied, and he was advised to depart at once, but refused to do so. In the night he was awakened, and before he could escape he was cut down, a funeral pyre was prepared and he was thrown upon it while still alive.[1]

In January 1841 Sher-Singh became Maharaja of Lahore. He was kindly disposed towards the hill Chiefs, and in the following May Balbir-Sen was set at liberty and permitted to return to Mandi, taking with him the image of the goddess Devi, which had been carried away by the Sikhs from the fortress of Kamlahgarh.

During Balbir-Sen's imprisonment Shaikh Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, the most grasping of all the Sikh revenue officers, had been in charge of the State, and had been directed to make a settlement of the territory for Rs. 2,35,000. On his return the Raja was ordered to increase the revenue to four lakhs, of which one lakh was to be retained for his own use and the greater part of the balance, in one way or another, was to be paid over to the Sikhs, whose tyranny soon became intolerable. The Raja never succeeded in raising four lakhs of revenue, but, with the connivance of the Majithia Sardars, Lehna-Singh and Ranjodh-Singh, who were the Sikh Nazims of the hills, he succeeded in retaining considerably more than the one lakh assigned him.

Previous to the first Sikh War, Balbir-Sen had been in secret communication with Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of Hill States, with a view to securing British protection; and,

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 130-31.

though compelled to send a contingent of 300 men to the Sikh army for the campaign on the Satluj, yet his sympathies were with the British. Immediately after the battle of Sobraon he and the Raja of Suket sent a confidential agent, named Sibu Pandit, to Mr. Erskine, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was readily granted, and on 21st February, 1846, the two Chiefs visited Mr. Erskine at Bilaspur and gave in their allegiance in person. But the Raja did not wait for the conclusion of the war before attempting to free his country. He boldly attacked the Sikh garrisons in the State and captured all the forts except Kamlahgarh, which did not surrender till the war was over. On 9th March, 1846, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sikh Darbar whereby, among other provisions, the whole of the Doab, between the Satluj and Bias, was ceded in perpetuity to Government. Mandi and Suket being within the ceded territory came directly under British control, and were placed in charge of the Commissioner of Jalandhar. Thereupon a claim to the *gaddi* was advanced by Mian Bhup-Singh, the descendant of Dhúrchatia, younger brother of Shamsher-Sen, and the head of the legitimate branch of the Mandi family. The Supreme Government, however, disallowed the claim, on the ground that for four generations that branch of the family had been excluded, and that it was inadvisable to revive obsolete claims. The Raja was, therefore, confirmed in his possessions, and, on 24th October 1846, a *sanad* was granted him defining his rights and obligations. By virtue of this *sanad* the suzerainty of Mandi State was finally transferred from the Sikh to the British Government.

On the refusal of the Government to entertain his claim to the Raj, the advisers of Mian Bhup-Singh, then a minor of ten years, raised 3,000 men from Kangra and Kahlur, and made an attack on Mandi by night, destroying much property. They also plundered the salt mines at Guma. A small force was sent against them, and they were easily dispersed. Bhup-Singh with his brothers was captured and imprisoned in Simla, but soon released on promise of good conduct, though he refused to relinquish his claim to the throne.

Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, was then the Commissioner of Jalandhar and Political Agent of the Hill States. In the autumn of 1846, he visited Mandi on his way to Kulu and advised the Raja to make roads in

the State. Mr. Barnes, the first Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, also settled the boundaries between Mandi, Suket and Kangra.

The authority of Balbir-Sen was now firmly established, under the sanction of the British Government, and he was supported in the administration by a man who is said to have been even more powerful than himself. This was his famous minister, Wazir Gosaon, whose name is still remembered in the State. It was chiefly through his agency that the Raja had obtained the *gaddi* from the Sikhs, and by his ability alone was its possession maintained. For this reason he had become an object of jealousy to the Raja and of envy to a party in the State, who hoped to benefit by his fall. Wazir Gosaon, however, had the support of the Government, and the Raja was wise enough to realize that without his minister's help his position and even his life would have been in danger.

Raja Balbir-Sen died on 26th January 1851, leaving three sons, Bajai-Sen, Pradhan-Singh and Man-Singh, of whom the eldest, and heir-apparent, was only four years old. The State was then again confronted with a long minority which had so often been a fruitful cause of trouble.

Bajai-Sen, A.D. 1851.—On the demise of the late Raja his mother, an intriguing woman, tried to get the administration into her own hands, but she was promptly set aside. Wazir Gosaon was still in office, and though he had many enemies he was the ablest and most capable man in the State. He was a man of great financial ability and experience, and had an intimate knowledge of the country, and his services were soon found to be indispensable even by his enemies; when, therefore, the question of a Council of Regency came up for decision, his name was submitted as president and approved by the Board of Administration. The other members were Mian Bhag-Singh, younger brother of Balbir-Sen, and Parohit Shib Shankar, the spiritual adviser. In two years, however, it was found necessary to reorganize the Council, and almost the entire control of the administration, judicial and financial, was given to Wazir Gosaon. This arrangement worked well for some years, and greatly to the benefit of the State.

About this time the case of Mian Bhup-Singh and his brothers, descendants of Dhúrchatia, came up for settlement,

and, after some delay, an allowance of Rs. 1,220 a year was fixed, Bhup-Singh engaging not to enter or disturb the Mandi State.

In 1859, Raja Bajai-Sen, then a boy of thirteen, was married to the grand-daughter of the Raja of Datarpur, and soon afterwards to a niece of the Raja of Guler. The superintendence of his education had been entrusted to *parohit* Shib Shankar, and soon afterwards it was found that his training had been almost entirely neglected. Sir Lepel Griffin says: "Not only was the education of the Raja neglected, but both the Purohit Shib Shankar and Wazir Gosaon winked at, even if they did not encourage, excesses which seriously injured the constitution of the young prince. A change, therefore, became necessary, and in 1861 this was effected by the banishment of Purohit Shib Shankar and his son to Kangra, while the Wazir was fined Rs. 2,000." After this change affairs went on more smoothly, and in 1868 Mr. Clark, an officer of the Educational Department, was appointed to superintend the Raja's education.

In November 1863, Lord Elgin, the first Viceroy of India under the Crown, made a tour in the hills, and, on his way from Kulu, he halted at Badhwani, Jhatingri and Drang, within the Mandi State. The Raja, accompanied by the queen-mother, went to Drang for an interview. The Viceroy soon afterwards fell sick of pneumonia and died at Chauntra, on November 20th, and was buried at Dharmsala.

In 1864, the Government granted the Raja a salute of 11 guns; and on 12th October 1866, having attained his majority, he was formally invested by Sir Douglas Forsyth with the powers of a ruling prince. On this occasion he devoted one lakh of rupees for works of public utility in the State, as an auspicious commencement of his reign. These included a school, hospital and post-office in the town of Mandi, a good mule road from Baijnath to Sultanpur in Kulu, over the Bubu Pass, and serais and traveller's bungalows along the line of road from the Kangra Valley, through Mandi, towards Kulu and Simla.

The boundary between Mandi and Suket, on the Hatli side, was also finally settled by the Commissioner of Jalandhar.

Unfortunately, the early promise of the Raja's reign was not realized, and the administration soon fell into the greatest confusion, which was made worse by the fact that Mr. Clark,

who had been appointed Councillor to the Raja, and Wazir Gosaon, did not work in harmony. Wazir Gosaon died in February 1870, and, after various efforts to bring about an improvement without success, Mr. Clark was, in 1870, transferred from Mandi and Mr. E. Harrison was appointed in his place, to introduce reforms long promised and long delayed. This change was fraught with much advantage to the State, and the administration continued to progress smoothly. Mr. Harrison discontinued certain allowances to State servants, and granted an increase of salary instead.

In October 1871, Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, paid a visit to Mandi. His Excellency came *via* Bilaspur and Suket, and the Nawa Mahal was prepared for his reception. He was accompanied by Mr. A. Brandreth, Commissioner of Jalandhar. A Darbar was held in the Bera at which all the State officials, jagirdars and principal residents were presented. The Raja was also present at the Darbar at Palampur, to which all the hill Chiefs had been invited. In 1872, Mr. Harrison left Mandi on his promotion to a higher appointment, and the administration was entrusted to the State officials and continued to work well.

In 1874, Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, paid a visit to Mandi and was pleased with the arrangements made for his journey.

Meanwhile the Raja had been assisted in the administration by his brother, Mian Pradhan-Singh, who was very popular with the people. He, however, died in Bhadon, Vik. 1932=A.D. 1875, and Mian Uttam-Singh was appointed Wazir in his place. He found that a large sum had been misappropriated from the Treasury, and all the Treasury officials were compelled to make the loss good.

Raja Bajai-Sen was present at the Proclamation Darbar at Delhi in January 1877, and, in commemoration of the auspicious event, he caused to be built the Victoria Suspension Bridge over the Bias at Mandi, at an expense of one lakh of rupees.

In 1878, Mian Uttam-Singh was removed from office and Mian Man-Singh, younger brother of the Raja, was appointed to succeed him. In the following year a State Council was formed, with the assent of the Raja, by Colonel W. G. Davies, the Commissioner. The members were Mian Man-Singh, Padha Jiwa-Nand, and Munshi Ganga-Singh. Soon afterwards, however, some reforms were carried out by Mian

Man-Singh which displeased the Raja and gave rise to unfriendly feeling between them, and the Mian resigned and left the State for Muttra. Mian Uttam-Singh was then recalled to office in the end of 1880.

In October 1880, Sir Robert Egerton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, passed through Mandi territory on his way from Kulu to the Kangra Valley, halting at Badhwani, Jhatingri and Dhelu. The Raja met His Honour at Jhatingri.

In 1881, the construction of several new lines of road was begun by the State, under the supervision of Mr. E. W. Purkis, Engineer. These were : a new road from Mandi to Kulu by the Dulchi Pass, 31 miles in length, with a suspension bridge over the Uhl river, a tributary of the Bias, at a cost of Rs. 40,000 ; a cart road from Baijnath to Mandi, and a road from Mandi to Sikandra, 25 miles long.

In 1883, Sir Charles Aitchison visited Mandi. He came from Simla *via* Bilaspur and halted at Mandi for three days, afterwards proceeding to Kulu *via* the Dulchi Pass. He was accompanied by Colonel Gordon Young, the Commissioner. On 15th Har, Vik. 1941=A. D. 1884, the two daughters of Raja Bajai-Sen were married to the heir-apparent of Bashahr, Rs. 2,77,000 being spent on the marriage, including a present of a lakh of rupees in cash. Of this sum Rs. 60,000 was realized from the people in marriage presents, in accordance with ancient custom.

Wazir Uttam-Singh had continued to act as Wazir from 1880 to October 1888, when he died, and Jawahir-Lal was appointed to succeed him. This caused discontent in Saraj and a disturbance broke out. The Raja, therefore, asked for the assistance of a British officer, and Mr. H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., was appointed for a year. Sardar Jawala-Singh was at the same time appointed to the office of Wazir.

Mr. Maynard effected many improvements in the administration. He drew out instructions for the guidance of the courts, the civil and criminal suits were defined and classified, rules for the hearing of appeals and revisions were modified and the period of limitation fixed. He also drew up a careful note regarding *begar* or forced labour, and framed rules regulating and defining the rights of agriculturists in the forests.

Mr. Maynard demitted charge at the end of March 1890, and on his suggestion the Raja engaged Mr. C. E. Fendall as Superintendent of Works, to help in the forest administration and to look after the roads, salt mines and *begar* labour generally. Appellate judicial work was also entrusted to him. In 1894, Mandi was visited by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, accompanied by Mr. Smyth, the Commissioner. He came from Kulu *viâ* the Dulchi Pass, and his camp was pitched on the Padal plain. The iron suspension bridge over the Suketi Nala, near Mandi, was opened by him and named "The Fitzpatrick Suspension Bridge."

In June 1893, another disturbance arose among the Saraj people, the pretext being the use of buffalo lymph for vaccination purposes. Jawala-Singh was in consequence removed from the Wazirship and Mian Udham-Singh was appointed.

The period from 1894 to 1900 was unfortunate for Mandi. Two sons were born to the Raja who both died in infancy. The Raja himself was constantly unwell, and ultimately developed cataract in both eyes, which entirely incapacitated him for managing the State, and unfortunately Mian Udham-Singh and Mr. Fendall did not work harmoniously together.

In September 1899, Mandi was visited by His Excellency Lord Elgin, who came from Dharmsala, and halted at Dhelu, Urla, Drang and Kataula, on his way to Kulu. The Raja met His Excellency at the Katindi Ridge. In 1901, matters had reached a crisis in the administration, and Mian Udham-Singh and Mr. Fendall were both removed from office, and Padha Jiwa-Nand was recalled from Jodhpur State, where he was a Member of the State Council, and appointed Wazir.

In November 1901, Sir W. Mackworth Young came to Mandi, accompanied by Mr. A. Anderson, the Commissioner. His Honour halted at Sakranti, Urla, Drang and Mandi, whence he travelled down to Dhamla in the Hoshiarpur District.

Meanwhile considerable improvement had been effected in the administration, under Padha Jiwa-Nand, and his services were recognized by Government by the bestowal upon him of the title of Rai Bahadur.

Raja Bajai-Sen died in 1902. He was of an amiable disposition and much beloved by his people. In recognition of his general good government, it had been decided to invest him at the Delhi Darbar, on the accession of King

Edward VII, with the title of K.C.S.I., and this was announced in the *Honours Gazette* three weeks after his death.

Bajai-Sen left no direct heirs, and in 1897 his illegitimate son, Kunwar Bhawani-Sen, had been recognized as his successor. It was, however, brought to the notice of Government that the Datarpur *rani* was *enceinte*, and the question of the succession was therefore held in abeyance. The birth of a daughter, however, settled the matter, and Bhawani-Sen was formally installed at Mandi in November 1903 by Sir Charles Rivaz, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

Raja Bhawani-Sen, A. D. 1903.—The Raja being a minor, Mr. Millar, I.C.S., was appointed Superintendent of the State, and took over charge on 30th November 1903. The young Chief's education had been carefully attended to by Mr. Anderson, and he spent five years at the Chiefs' College in Lahore, under the care of his tutor, Mr. E. M. Atkinson. On the completion of his studies he returned to Mandi on 17th April 1904, after a short tour to Karachi and Bombay. A sum of Rs. 1,10,000 was paid to Government as *nazarana* or succession duty, in 1904, the balance being remitted later on in consequence of the losses sustained by the State in the earthquake of 4th April 1905.

At the time of the earthquake the Raja and Mr. Millar were in the Dâk Bungalow at Palampur, and had a narrow escape, being buried in the ruins, from which they were extricated with difficulty. Much damage was done in the State. From the Baijnath border to Mandi town only the village of Aiju was left standing. Serious damage was also done in Balh, Saraj, Sanor and Chohar. The total loss of life was estimated at only 1,500, but the damage to property was enormous. The town of Mandi was almost ruined. The salt mine at Guma was rendered unworkable for some time. Considerable damage was also done to roads and bridges in the State. The total loss entailed by the earthquake, one way and another, including damage to property, was ten lakhs of rupees. On this occasion the State acted with great liberality, grain loans from the granaries were freely distributed, *takawi* loans were granted to those who had suffered loss, and timber to the value of more than one lakh of rupees was given to the homeless, free of charge.

On October 7th, 1905, the Raja was formally invested with full administrative powers by Mr. H. A. Anderson, C.S.I., and Mr. Millar then left the State.

In November 1905, the Raja visited Lahore, with the other Panjab Chiefs, to meet the Prince of Wales.

Soon afterwards Lord Kitchener passed through Mandi territory, on his way from Simla to Kangra, and was highly pleased with the arrangements made for him.

In 1906, the Darbar Hall was built at an expense of Rs. 30,000, and the following year an electric installation was carried out costing Rs. 20,000.

During the next three years the administration continued to be conducted satisfactorily, under the guidance of Rai Bahadur Padha Jiwa-Nand, the Wazir. Owing to excessive rainfall, serious injury was done to the cultivators' lands and crops, and prices ruled unusually high.

From 1st March 1907, the reduction of the duty on salt came into effect, and it has had an appreciable effect in increasing the outturn, to an extent which more than compensates the British Government and the Mandi State financially for the lower rate imposed.

In 1908, Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor, came from Kulu *via* the Dulchi Pass ; and halted for a day in the Residency, on his way to instal Mian Bhim-Sen as Raja of Suket. He found the administration in a satisfactory condition generally, for which credit was due to Padha Jiwa-Nand, the Wazir.

The beginning of the year 1909 was marked by an agrarian disturbance of a somewhat serious character.[1] A number of zamindars, alleging oppression at the hands of certain officials, proceeded to Mandi to lay their grievances before the Raja. Not content with legitimate agitation, they laid hands on many of the State officials and thrust them into the prison. The State forces of a hundred men proving unequal to the task of suppressing the riot, assistance was asked for from Kangra, and the Deputy Commissioner, as well as the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, soon arrived on the spot. Colonel H. S. Davies, the Commissioner, came later. Two companies of the 32nd Pioneers were called in, and order was soon restored by this show of force. Padha Jiwa-Nand was then displaced by Indar-Singh, son of the late Wazir Uttam-Singh. Subsequently Tikka Rajendra-Pal, E.A.C., was appointed Adviser to the Raja and Munshi Amar-Singh as acting Wazir. The political situation then improved.

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[1] Such a disturbance is called a *dum* locally.

With a view to a more even distribution of the land revenue, and a satisfactory solution of the question of *begar*, an officer of the Indian Civil Service, in the person of Mr. C. C. Garbett, was, at the request of the Raja, lent to the Darbar, as Settlement Officer, and took up his duties in 1911. Mr. Garbett, was, however, obliged to go on sick leave in the following October, and was relieved by Mr. Gordon Walker.

These changes were followed soon after by the death of Raja Bhawani-Sen. He attended the Coronation Darbar at Delhi in December 1911, and fell ill soon after his return. Towards the end of January his condition became worse, and he died on 9th February, 1912. His untimely death was a severe loss to the State, all the more as he left no direct heir to succeed him.

After some delay Mian Jagendra-Singh, the nearest male relative of the deceased Raja, was selected by Government and was formally installed as Raja Jagendra-Sen by His Honour Sir Louis Dane, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, on 10th April, 1913. Being a minor of eight years of age, the Raja was placed under instruction in Queen Mary's College, Lahore. Mr. Gordon Walker was appointed Superintendent of the State, in addition to his duties as Settlement Officer, with Munshi Amar Singh as his Assistant, and in 1916 he was relieved by Mr. H. W. Emerson.

In 1916 the Raja was admitted to the Chiefs' College, Lahore, where he prosecuted his studies under the care of his tutor, Mr. T. P. Gillmore, till 1923, when he obtained his Diploma. He then began his training in judicial, executive and revenue work in preparation for the high station he was soon to fill, and in February 1925 he was invested with full powers as a Ruling Chief by Colonel A. B. Minchin, Agent to the Governor-General, Panjab States. During the long minority of twelve years Mandi was under the management of a succession of British officers who did much to promote the interests of the State. Every department of the administration was overhauled and reorganized. A Regular Settlement was carried out. The forests were placed under efficient control, and many works of general utility were undertaken and completed. These measures resulted in a great increase of revenue, from 5 lakhs to 12 lakhs of rupees.

During the Great War Mandi State rendered valuable assistance to Government, both materially and financially, which was acknowledged by a *kharitah* from the Viceroy.

From 1st November 1921, the political control of the State was transferred from the Panjab Government to the Government of India in the Political Department. In later years, since His Highness came into power, the most notable event has been the inauguration of the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme, which, in addition to being a material and financial gain to the State, will link the name of Mandi and its present Chief, in all time coming, with one of the greatest enterprises that has ever been undertaken, and one of the most valuable boons that any country can receive.

CHAPTER X.

Kulu State.

In its most prosperous days Kulu included the whole of the territory now embraced in the Kulu sub-division of Kangra District, except Spiti. It was bounded on the north by Ladakh, on the east by Tibet Proper, on the south by the Satluj and Bashahr, and on the west by Suket, Mandi, Bara-Bangahal and Chamba. At times it even included a tract lying to the south of the Satluj. The total area of the principality was 6,607 square miles, but this was sometimes increased to as much as 10,000 square miles by temporary acquisitions from neighbouring States.

The State included the Upper Bias Valley, from the Rotang Pass to Bajaura,[1] with Lahul and a portion of the Satluj Valley; and was divided into seven Waziris or provinces:—

1. *Waziri Parol, or Kulu Proper,* the main Bias Valley from the Rotang Pass to the Phojal Nala; the Malana Valley, and the right side of the Parbati Nala, from the west of the Malana Nala to its junction with the Bias.
2. *Waziri Rupi,* the tract between the Parbati and Sainj Nalas on the left bank of the Bias, including the whole of the Upper Parbati Valley tract, known as Kanawar.
3. *Waziri Saraj,* the southern portion of the State, divided into Outer and Inner Saraj by the Jalauri Range.
4. *Waziri Lag-Maharaja,* the right bank of the Sarvari Nala to Sultanpur, and of the Bias from there to Bajaura.
5. *Waziri Lag-Sari,* the tract between the Phojal and Sarvari Nalas on the right bank of the Bias.
6. *Waziri Bangahal,* a portion of Chhota-Bangahal.
7. *Waziri Lahul,* the tract now called British Lahul.

The material at our disposal for a history of Kulu is scanty and unreliable. This we may perhaps ascribe to the proverbial ignorance of the people; for Kulu seems never to have known an age of literary activity.[2] It is fortunate,

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[1] In ancient times the Kulu boundary was at Manglor.

[2] *Cf.* the popular sayings, *Kullu ke Ullu* and *Gaye Kullu hoe Ullu.*

however, that many historical documents bearing on the history of the country do exist, and for an interesting account of them we are indebted to a paper by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, of the Archæological Survey of India.[1]

Chief among these documents is the *Vansavali*, or genealogical roll of the Rajas, of which the original is not now forthcoming. That there were family records seems certain, as Mr. Howell states that they were all destroyed in the reign of the last ruling Raja, Jit Singh (1816—41). That Raja had two chamberlains (Kaiths), called Hukmu and Gohru, of the Bhunhan family, who were keepers of the State archives. Being under suspicion for some reason, they were summoned to appear before the Raja. Before leaving they gave orders that if anything happened to them the State documents were to be destroyed. The Raja in a fit of anger had them executed, and on sending messengers for the papers he found that it was too late: they had all been burnt. Along with them were lost the secret formulæ for extracting silver from ore, and the Rupi silver mines were in consequence closed down.[2]

The late Colonel (then Captain) Harcourt was the first to draw attention to the *Vansavali*, in his book, "*Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*," published in 1871. Colonel Harcourt was for three years Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, and thus possessed special advantages for inquiry and research, of which he fully availed himself. It was his intention, as he states, to have written a history of Kulu, for which he had collected a large amount of material. This, however, he was unable to do, and some time before his death he placed the whole of his manuscripts at our disposal. To Colonel Harcourt, therefore, we are under very special obligation, which we desire to acknowledge.

As an historical document the *Vansavali* seems to be open to suspicion, and some have regarded it as wholly unreliable previous to the accession of the Singh or Badani dynasty, about A.D. 1500.[3] Sir James Lyall, who was Settlement Officer of Kangra District, including Kulu, in 1868, considered that the history of the State began with the reign of Raja Sidh-Singh, the founder of the Badani dynasty. There is undoubtedly much confusion in the document, which weakens its reliability, more especially in the older portion

[1] *Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India*, 1907-08, pages 261 to 276.
[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, page 76.
[3] Cf. *Kangra Settlement Report*, Part II, page 75.

dealing with the Pal dynasty, and for which we unfortunately possess little corroborative evidence of any kind. So far as the Singh or Badani dynasty is concerned, however, the *Vansavali* is corroborated by copper-plate deeds and inscriptions, as well as references in the Tibetan records, Mughal histories, and the *Vansavalis* of neighbouring Hill States.

We know from historical documents that, next to Kashmir and Kangra, Kulu was probably the most ancient State in the Panjab ; and in view of this fact the errors and discrepancies of the *Vansavali* must be lightly dealt with. Such errors are not peculiar to Kulu, and a careful consideration of the whole question leads to the conclusion that the document is evidently based on an authentic *Vansavali*, and may be accepted as fairly reliable.

The oldest historical record in the country is the legend on a coin of a Raja of Kulu, named Virayasa, which reads as follows : *Rajna Kolutasya Virayasasya.* "(Coin of) Virayasa, king of Kuluta" or "of the Kulutas." The name of this Raja is not found in the *Vansavali*, but according to Professor Rapson this coin can be ascribed, on palæographical grounds, to the first or second century of the Christian era, perhaps rather to the second than the first.[1]

This ancient Kulu coin, which is of interest as the earliest document of Kulu history, was first published by Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, page 67, plate IV, No. 14), but the correct reading of the legend was established by the Swedish scholar, Dr. A. V. Bergny (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1900, pages 415 *sq.* and 420). Professor Rapson, while admitting the correctness of Dr. Bergny's reading, says : "This is a most important correction, for it adds one more to the list of Indian States of Ancient India which are known to us from their coinage." (*Ibidem*, page 492 ; *cf.* also page 537 *sq.*).

The coin of King Virayasa (or Virayasas) of Kulu bears the full Sanskrit legend in Brahmi, and one word (*rana*) in the Kharoshthi character. Other instances of biliteral coins in these two scripts are those of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas. It is remarkable that the earliest inscriptions found in the Kangra Valley are two rock inscriptions, each of which has the legend in Brahmi and in Kharoshthi. One of these, namely, that at Kanhiyara, near Dharmsala, records the foundation of a monastery (*arama*) by an individual of the

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[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 265.

name of Krishnayasas. It is curious that in this document, which must be contemporaneous with the coin of the Kuluta King, Vīrayasas, we have a name ending in *yasas*. This, however, is in all probability a mere accident, as Krishnayasas does not bear any royal title, but is distinguished by the tribal (?) name Madangi. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume VII, pages 116 and 99). Similarly, bilingual inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshthi occur at Khalatse in Ladakh (Francke, *Western Tibet*, page 36).

Next in date is the rock inscription at Salanu, which though now in Mandi, must originally have been within the limits of Kulu. The characters in which this record is inscribed are of the fourth or fifth century A.D.; but unfortunately it is of no historical value as the personages referred to are unknown to history. It records that one Maharaja Sri Chandesvara-hastin, son of Maharaja Isvara-hastin, and belonging to the family of *Vatsa*, conquered one Rajjila-bala in battle, and founded a town named Salipuri, which may possibly be the village of Salri, near the site of the inscription.[1]

The original name of Kulu was Kuluta, as first pointed out by Sir A. Cunningham. It occurs in Sanskrit līterature, as in the *Vishnu Purana* and *Ramayana*; and is also found on the ancient coin already referred to.[2]

It is also mentioned in the *Mahabharata* under that name, in a list of countries lying to the north of India.[3] The *Markandeya-purana* and the *Brihat Samhita* also notice it among the tracts situated in the north-east of India. In the *Rajatarangini* it is referred to only once, as having been a separate State in the sixth century A.D., when, we are told, Ratisena, King of the Cholas, sent his daughter, Ranarambha, to the residence of his friend, the king of Kuluta, and "Ranaditya (King of Kashmir) went with joy to that not distant land" to receive her. In Bana's *Kadambari*, of the middle of the seventh century A.D., we are told that Kuluta was conquered by Tarapida of Ujjayani, who took captive the

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[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1902-03, page 14.

[2] *Ancient Geography of India*, page 142.

NOTE.—All other derivations of the name, such as that from *Kulantapitha* referred to by Captain Harcourt, as well as those from *Kaula*, *Kol* and *Koli* are purely fanciful and must be rejected. The name *Uluta* in the *Vishnu Purana* is manifestly a clerical error. *Cf.* Rapson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, page 531.

[3] Cf. *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 261, and *Rajatarangini*, III, 435-36; also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1900; *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, and *The Kulutas, a people of Northern India*, by E. J. Rapson.

princess Patralekha, the daughter of the king of that country, and that Queen Vilasavati sent her to prince Chandrapida, her son, to be his betel-bearer. Tarapida of Ujjayini is unknown to history, but *Chandrapida* and *Tarapida* are the names of the immediate predecessors of Lalitaditya-Muktapida of Kashmir. Professor Rapson remarks that probably no historical importance whatever is to be attached to the passage from the *Kadambari*. It is, however, possible that it contains some reminiscence of a conquest of Kuluta by one of the kings of the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir, who may have been contemporaries of the author of the *Kadambari*. In any case the reference proves that in the seventh century Kuluta was recognized as a separate kingdom.

About the same time India was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629—645). He describes the country of *K'iu-lu-to* as situated at 700 *li*, *i.e.*, 117 miles, to the north-east of Jalandhara, which exactly corresponds with the position of Kuluta, with which, as Sir A. Cunningham says, the Chinese rendering of K'iu-lu-to is identical. The circuit of the tract, as given by Hiuen Tsiang, is 3,000 *li* or 500 miles, which is much in excess of the present limits of Kulu. Sir A. Cunningham, however, was inclined to accept the figures. "As the ancient kingdom," he remarks, "is said by the people themselves to have included Mandi and Suket on the west, and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satluj, it is probable that the frontier measurements of 500 miles may be very near the truth, if taken in road distances." This tradition is current in Suket, Mandi and Bashahr as well as Kulu.[1]

Though the limits as defined may have marked the extent of the ancient kingdom, this does not necessarily mean that the Rajas ruled directly over this widespread area. It has to be borne in mind that in ancient times the whole country was parcelled out among numerous petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs, who were the rulers *de facto*, though generally owing allegiance to a paramount power. The traditions relating to these petty rulers are very distinct in the early history of Kulu as well as in that of Suket, which till the twelfth century included almost all the territory now in Mandi. These traditions, along with historical records, prove

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[1] Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, page 142. Five *li* = one mile. *Vide* Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, popular edition, page 176 ; vide *Si-yu-ki*, Beal's translation, Volume I, page 177.

that down to a late period, the Ranas and Thakurs maintained their authority, though nominally under the suzerainty of the larger States. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the assumption that, in the seventh century, the petty Chiefs in the area defined, all owed a nominal allegiance to Kulu, and were regarded as under the supremacy of that State. Suket, as we know, was not founded till a later period.

Hiuen Tsiang also makes mention of a *stupa*, erected by Asoka in the middle of the valley, to commemorate Buddha's alleged visit, and he further states that in his time there were about twenty *sangharamas* (Buddhist monasteries) and a thousand priests who mostly followed the Great Vehicle. There were also fifteen *deva* temples, used by different sects without distinction, besides numerous caves hollowed in the rocks which were the places of abode of Arhats and Rishis. It would thus appear that Buddhism once flourished in Kulu, though it has now practically disappeared from the valley, the only symbol remaining being a stone image of Avalokitesvara, in a temple of Kapila-muni, at Kelat, some miles north of Sultanpur, which is still worshipped. Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the people of Kulu as coarse and common in appearance and of a hard and fierce nature.[1]

Of the copper-plate title-deeds found in Kulu, the oldest is that of Nirmand. It, however, was not granted by a Raja of Kulu, but by one, Raja Samudra-Sena, whose identity has not yet been fully ascertained. Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the grant was made by Samudra-Sena of Mandi, *c.* A. D. 1151-76, but more recently the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. Fleet, who holds, on palæographical grounds, that it belongs to the seventh century. The donor of the grant calls himself a *mahasamanta* or feudatory of some paramount power, probably Tibetan, but the name of the State over which he ruled is not stated.[2]

A pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty, with the surname of *Sena*, is said to have ruled in Spiti in the early centuries of the Christian era, and Captain Harcourt states that coins with the *Sena* suffix on them have been found in the valley. These statements have not been verified, but if authentic the donor of the Nirmand plate may have been one of the Spiti Rajas. This seems probable from more recent research.

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[1] Cf. *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, pages 261-62.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Volume XIV, and *Inscrip. Ind.*, Volume III, pages 286—291; also *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 1, pages 5-6.

Later references to Kulu are found in Chamba copper-plate title-deeds of the eleventh century, granted in the reigns of Soma-Varman and Asata-Varman, and relating to events which happened in the early part of the tenth century, during the reign of Sahila-Varman of Chamba. From these documents it would seem that Chamba then exercised more or less of a suzerainty over Kulu, for they speak of the Chamba Raja as having been "asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services, by his kinsman, the lord of Kuluta, anxious to render him homage." Sahila-Varman was then engaged in repelling an invasion of his country by a race called "Kira," aided by the lord of Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatika (Balor); and he had as his allies the Rajas of Trigarta (Kangra) and Kuluta (Kulu). The fact that the Chiefs of Chamba and Kulu were kinsmen, most probably by marriage, proves that both families were Kshatriyas or Rajputs, for the Chamba family is of this caste.[1]

Some doubt has been felt as to the signification of the word *svakulya,* meaning "kinsman," "of one's own family," from the fact that Visakhadatta (*c.* A.D. 600) mentions Chitravarman, the King of Kuluta, in the play called *Mudrarakshasa,* among the five leading Mlechchha allies of Rakshasa; but neither Chitravarman, nor the other confederate Rajas, appear to have been historical personages, and the suffix "Varman" was never in use in Kulu. This seems to imply that in Visakhadatta's estimation the people of Kulu were Mlechchhas or barbarians. Most probably the reference is to the inhabitants of Kulu and not to the ruling family. There can be little doubt that the Kanets and other allied tribes, which form the bulk of the population even at the present time, are of semi-aboriginal origin, and would therefore be regarded as Mlechchhas in ancient times. Even now the high caste community is very small.

According to the traditional folklore of the people, the Kulu Valley originally bore the name of *Kulantapitha,* meaning "the end of the habitable world," as being, in the estimation of the Hindus, the utmost limit of human abode. The name also occurs in a booklet called *Kulantapitha Mahatmya.* Captain Harcourt regarded the name as the original of *Kulu,* but the change from one to the other is etymologically impossible.

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer,* pages 76-77. *Antiquities of Chamba State,* pages 186—195.

The *Kulantapitha Mahatmya*, which deals with the sacred lore of Kulu, is in the possession of the priests of Manikarn in the Parbati Valley, and it claims to be a part of the *Brahmanda-purana*. Though unpublished and possessing little historical interest, it is important in a way for local topography. Dr. Hirananda Sastri gives the following quotation from it: " Kulantapitha lies to the north-east of *Jalandharu* and south of *Hemakuta* mountain. It is 10 *yojanas* (about 90 miles) in length and 3 (?) *yojanas* (about 27 miles) in width. The sacred place of Vyasa lies to its north and the Bandhana mountain to its south. The river Bias flows to its west and the Pasupati (Siva) lies to the east. The deity presiding over the valley is *Savari*. Indrakila is the principal hill. The *samgama* or confluence of the Bias and Parbati rivers is the chief sacred place. It was in this land that Siva in the guise of a *Savara* fought with Arjuna."[1]

The area assigned by the *Mahatmya* to *Kulantapitha* is nearly equal to that of Kulu Proper, but it is improbable that the name ever indicated Kulu. The name is still applied to a tract on the left bank of the Bias, between the source of that river and its confluence with the Parbati.

The topographical features referred to in the *Mahatmya* are probably the following :—The northern limit (*pitha*) is termed Hemakuta, which according to the Puranas is a *Simaparvata*, or boundary mountain. As the Pir-Panjal of geologists is the northern boundary of Kulu, separating it from Lahul, *Hemakuta* may refer to that range, or specially to Snowy Peak M. of the range, in which lies the source of the Bias, called Bias Kundi, the *Vyasatirtha* of the *Mahatmya*. *Indrakila* is the name of a well-known mountain in the same range, to the south-east of the Hamta Pass, over 20,000 feet in height, and resembling a wedge—hence the name, *kila* (nail). It is said to be well known in Puranic literature. This mountain is now known in Kulu as Indrasau, and is incorrectly given as Deotiba on the survey map.

Some references to Kulu are also to be found in the Tibetan Chronicle of Ladakh, called the *rGyal-rabs* or " Book of the Kings."[2] There it is stated that a king of Ladakh, named Lha-Chen-Utpala, who reigned about A.D. 1125-1150, united the forces of Upper and Lower Ladakh and invaded Nyungti or Kulu. In this invasion he was successful, and the ruler

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[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 264.

[2] *Cf.* Francke, *Western Tibet*, page 65.

of Kulu bound himself by oath to continue to pay tribute in *dzos*[1] and iron to the king of Ladakh, " so long as the glaciers of the *Kailasá* shall not melt nor Lake Manasarovar dry up." This treaty is said to have remained in force till about A.D. 1600, and according to the late Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, Ladakhi tax-collectors visited Lahul till A.D. 1870, long after these districts had passed under British rule.[2] The Reverend A. H. Francke, however, thinks that they were not really tax-collectors, as the trade contract required such payments. The invasion in question is probably the one noted in the Chronicle of Kulu, as having taken place in the reign of Sikandar-Pal, who is said to have appealed to the Raja of Delhi for help to drive out the invaders, called Chinese. A second invasion of Kulu by Ladakh took place in the reign of Tsewang Namgyál I., A.D. 1530—60, by whom the country was subdued, and its Chiefs " were made to feel the weight of his arm." This, however, was probably an empty boast, and there is no mention of it in the *Vansavali.* The occurrence, if authentic, may have taken place in the time of Sidh-Singh.

Again in the Kashmir Chronicle of Jonaraja,[3] it is stated that Zain-ul-abidin, the king of Kashmir (A.D. 1420—70), invaded Goggadesa, that is, the kingdom of Gugé in Upper Kanawar, and " robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kuluta." This must evidently refer to the town of Nagar, then the capital. Other historical records belong to a later date, such as the inscription of Udhran-Pal on the Sandhya Temple at Jagat-sukh, S. 4 =A.D. 1428, and that of Raja Bahadur Singh in the Dhungri Temple at Manali, S. 29= A.D. 1553. One of the most important of these records is a copper-plate grant by Bahadur-Singh, in favour of Ramapati, the Rajaguru or spiritual preceptor of Raja Ganesh-Varman of Chamba. It was given on the occasion of the marriage of three Kulu princesses to the heir-apparent of the latter State, and is dated S. 35=A.D. 1559.[4]

There are also a good many more inscriptions of minor importance, of the period of the Singh or Badani dynasty (A.D. 1500—1840). To this period belong the *farmans* or

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[1] The *dzo* is a cross-breed between the yak and the cow. The *dzos* were doubtless sent from Lahul, as there are none in Kulu.

[2] In 1820 four villages in Lahul paid tribute to Ladakh—*vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 198.

[3] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, verse 1108.

[4] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1902-03, pages 255-*ff*. *Udhran* is a transposition for *Urdhan*, which is the correct name.

official letters, thirteen in number, issued from the Mughal Court, between A.D. 1650 and 1658, to Raja Jagat-Singh. Of these, four are original *sanads* and nine are copies, the originals having been lost. Twelve of them were issued under the seal of Dara Shikoh and one by Aurangzeb. Most of these *farmans* or letters are of no importance historically, as they refer only to the tribute in hawks and falcons (*baz o jurrah*)[1] to be forwarded from Kulu to the Imperial court. Complaint is frequently made that the crystal (*balaur*) sent was of inferior quality and useless. In two letters a reference occurs to Raja Jog-Chand of Lag, whose State Jagat-Singh had annexed and had imprisoned his grandson. An appeal had been made to the Emperor, and Jagat-Singh was ordered to release the captive and restore him to his rights—under pain of severe punishment. In another letter (from Aurangzeb), Jagat-Singh is enjoined to be on the watch for Sulaiman Shikoh, who was trying to escape through the hill tracts in order to rejoin his father, Dara Shikoh, then in the Panjab.

In A.D. 1904-05,[2] ten more records on stone were discovered, five of which are dated between A.D. 1673 and 1870, and are partly illegible. They are all in Tankari letters and in the local dialect. One of these, on the jambs of the doorway of the Siva temple at Hat, near Bajaura, is dated in the Shastra year 49 = A.D. 1673, in the reign of Shyam-Sen of Mandi, and records a grant of land to the temple. From this we may conclude that at that time Hāt was in Mandi territory. Another is on a slab in the wall of the Murlidhar temple at Chahni, two miles above Banjar in Inner Saraj, which was engraved in the reign of Raja Bidhi-Singh, in S. 50=A.D. 1674-75. Four copper-plate inscriptions were also found, two of them belonging to the reign of Raja Jagat-Singh, one dated S. 27=A.D. 1651, and the other in S. 32=A.D. 1656. The third was issued in the reign of Raja Raj-Singh, but is undated, and the fourth is dated S. 56=A.D. 1780, in the reign of Raja Pritam-Singh.

There are also inscriptions of some historical importance on metal masks, called *deo*, representing Hindu gods and deified personages.[2] Of the Pal dynasty only two have been found which bear inscriptions, one on the mask of Hirma Devi has S. 94=A.D. 1418 as the date for Udhran-Pal, the grandfather, according to the *Vansavali*, of Raja Sidh-Singh ; the other on the effigy of Vishnu at Sajla in Kothi

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[1] *Baz*, the female, *jurrah*, the male bird.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, pages 269-70.

Barsai, gives S. 76, and Saura year 1422 as the date for Sidh-Pal. Saura is evidently meant for Saka, and the equivalent date of the Christian era is A.D. 1500. As Udhran-Pal is believed to have built the temple of Sandhya Devi at Jagat-Sukh, he must have ruled in the early part of the fifteenth century, and the date for the temple is A.D. 1428. There are also masks of the Singh dynasty, each with an inscription recording the year in which the gift was made, and also the day of the month. Among other historical documents must also be mentioned certain letters in the Chamba archives relating to Kulu, as well as a large number of letters in Kulu, dated in the reigns of the Badani Rajas.[1]

Reference may here be made to the Sati monuments of the Kulu Rajas, which stand just below Nagar castle at Nagar, the ancient capital.

The Kulu Rajas were in the habit of erecting upright slabs, like tombstones, as memorials to their dead ancestors—a custom which prevailed also in Mandi and Suket. In former times this custom was common in the inner hills, and seems to have been in use in ancient times among the petty Chiefs called Ranas and Thakurs. In Kulu, Mandi and Suket it was a royal privilege. In most parts these memorials are only rough slabs, with very primitive figures of the deceased cut upon them. In Mandi they are of an elaborate character and adorned with carvings. They are locally called *barsela,* and usually show a figure of the deceased Raja and of the women—*ranis,* concubines and slave girls—who were cremated with him. In Mandi many of them bear inscriptions recording the date of death, which are very valuable for historical purposes.

The Sati monuments of Kulu seem to be of a rough character, and none of them bear any inscription. Captain Harcourt thus refers to them :[2] " At Nuggur there is a curious collection of what resemble tombstones, that are to be found just below Nuggur Castle. They are inserted into the ground in four rows, rising one over the other on the hill-side : and in all I have counted 141 of these, each ornamented with rude carvings of Chiefs of Kooloo—their wives and concubines being portrayed either beside them, or in lines below. One Rajah is mounted on a horse and holds a sword in his

[1] Vide *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 78-80, and *Chamba Museum Catalogue,* pages 69-70, c 18, 19, 27, 3?, 51.

[2] *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti,* pages 357-58.

hand, the animal he bestrides being covered with housings, just as might be a Crusader's charger; a very similar figure to this is carved in wood over the porch of the Doongree temple. The report is that these stones were placed in position at the death of every reigning sovereign of Kooloo, the female figures being the effigies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed *suttee* at their lord's demise. If this be the true state of the case, then the human sacrifices must have been very great in some instances, for it is not uncommon to find forty and fifty female figures crowding the crumbling and worn surface of the stone."[1]

The chronology of Kulu history, anterior to the accession of the Badani dynasty in A.D. 1500, is largely a matter of conjecture. Of one thing we are certain, *viz.*, that after Kashmir and Kangra, Kulu was one of the oldest principalities in the Panjab hills. We have already seen that a coin of one of the early Rajas exists, belonging to the first or second Christian century, and the State must therefore have been founded at a still earlier period. An examination of the *Vansavali* supports this conclusion. In it are found 73 names of the Pal line of Rajas and 15 of the later line, who bore the surname or suffix of Singh, *i.e.*, 88 names in all. The latter line began about A.D. 1500, and came to an end in 1840, with the overthrow of the State by the Sikhs; giving a period of 340 years, or an average reign of 20 years to each Raja. This average is the same as in the Chamba family and other royal lines in the hills. Now there is no reason for assuming that the Rajas of the Pal line were not as long lived as their successors. Allowing therefore an average reign of 20 years to each of the 73 Pal Rajas, we get a period of 1,460 years, which takes us back to the first century A.D. for the foundation of the State. But Captain Harcourt has pointed out that there were several breaks in the succession, when the Kulu royal line was removed from power and the State was subject to alien rule. Such a break in the continuity of the line took place in the early centuries, when Kulu is said to have been subject to Chamba for six reigns, of which five names are entirely omitted from the *Vansavali*. Indeed, Captain Harcourt states that twelve names were thus dropped, and that the total number of Pal Rajas was 85, with fifteen of the Singh dynasty, making 100 in all. We may therefore conclude that at the latest the State came into existence in the first or second century of the Christian era.

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[1] *Kooloo Lahoul and Spiti*, pages 113, 114.

We must not suppose, however, that the Kulu State then embraced more than a very limited area of territory, probably not more than the country around Jagat-Sukh. This view is fully borne out by what we know of the early history of Chamba and other States, where for centuries the Rajas exercised little more than a nominal authority, and were constantly in danger of being overpowered by the local petty Chiefs. It was only after centuries of almost continuous warfare that they gained a real supremacy over the Ranas and Thakurs; and in Kulu, Suket and Mandi this struggle seems to have lasted longer than in many of the other States. In Chamba, for example, it came to an end in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries · while in the States named it continued till the sixteenth century and even later.

Assuming that the Kulu State was founded not later than the first or second century, the *Vansavali* tends to confirm local tradition in the hills, to the effect that the rule of the Ranas and Thakurs was of still more ancient origin, for they are said to have been in possession of the country anterior to this, either as independent rulers or in nominal subjection to a paramount power. The Ranas in Kulu were of the warrior caste, and probably came from the plains; the Thakurs were almost certainly Kanets. Sir James Lyall's remarks regarding them are interesting. He says: "According to common tradition and the legend which gives the story of the foundation of Kulu principality, the time of the Rajas was preceded by a 'Thakurain,' or period of government by Thakurs, petty Chiefs of a few villages. These Thakurs waged war, levied taxes and transit duties like so many German barons. The tradition of such a period is not peculiar to Kulu, but does not seem so remote and ancient here as in Kangra Proper."[1]

There can be no question that common tradition credits these hill barons with having been completely independent, previous to the foundation of the different Rajput principalities. At the same time it is not improbable that the great Hindu kingdoms of the plains did, from time to time, assert their supremacy over the hill tracts; as in the case of the Raja of Kanauj in the first century of the Christian era, as mentioned by Ferishta.

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[1] *Kangra Settlement Report*, Part II, page 74.

The history of the Pal line of Rajas, as we have seen, goes back to a very early period, but the records tell of a still earlier dynasty. This if authentic must refer to a very remote time. Captain Harcourt thus relates the tradition: "A chief or, as the people call him, a demon, by name Tandee, fixed his abode on the Kooloo side of the Rohtung Pass, and with him lived his sister, Hurimba, whose temple is now at Doongree, near Menalee, in the Upper Bias Valley. Bhaem Sen, the Pandu, next appears on the scene, his mission being to clear Kooloo of all the demons in it, but in this instance he contented himself with running off with Hurimba; and Tandee, aggrieved at this, fought with Bhaem Sen and was in the conflict slain. With Bhaem Sen was a follower, one Bidher, who, however, was not a Pandu, and this man married a daughter of Tandee's. Two sons were the fruit of this union, one called Bhot and the other Mukhur, both these boys being brought up by the goddess, Bias Ricki. Bhot married a woman, named Soodungee, who came from Bhotunt, and this marriage seems to have been attended with unfortunate results, for Soodungee, with no fear of the Brahmans before her eyes, cooked cow's flesh one day and gave this to Bhot. Mukhur was not present during this act of impiety, and when he came in, Bias Ricki told him what had occurred; upon which Mukhur, who had apparently been indoctrinated with strictly Brahminical principles, fled to a spot somewhere to the south of Sooltanpore, and there founded a village, called Makaraha, and Kooloo after him obtained the name of Mukarsa, by which it was known till a recent period. The old capital of the Rajas at Naggar was also named Mukarsa; and Moorcroft, when in Kooloo, in 1820, mentions that he passed below the site of this ancient city."[1]

The above is the form in which the legend has come down from early times in Kulu. In reality it is a garbled version of a very ancient legend or myth regarding Bhima the second of the five Pandava brothers, found in the *Mahabharata* (first canto, chapters 152-156). There Hidimba is a *rakshasi*, or man-eating demoness, in whom we recognize the goddess, Hirma or Hirimba of the Kulu Valley. Her brother, called Hidimba in the Epic, and Tandi in the Kulu

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[1] *Kooloo, Lahul and Spiti,* page 111. (Moorcroft was in Kulu in August 1820—not in 1819).

legend, was killed by Bhimasena. Hidimba is probably a goddess who was worshipped from very remote times, and her worship, which was attended with human sacrifice, was non-Aryan. Hence the Brahmans regarded her not as a deity, but as a man-eating demoness. Hirimba seems to have been the patron deity of the Kulu Valley from early times, and her seat is at Dhungri near Manali. She is believed to have granted the country to the Kulu Rajas, and even after the introduction of Rama-worship, as Raghunathji, she still maintained her authority. To this day the Rajas are said to call her "Grandmother." The upper end of the valley was granted her in *jagir*, and within it her officers seem to have exercised full powers, and the royal writ did not run. The *jagir* also enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and when a criminal or any one, fleeing from the Raja's displeasure, succeeded in reaching the borders of the *jagir*, at Okhiragolu about two miles below Manali, he became Hirimba's refugee, and was not given up to his pursuers, who if they followed farther became blind. The place thus bore the meaning of "freedom from hardship." Such privileges seem to have been common in all the hill principalities in former times, and were enjoyed sometimes even by jagirdars. Though Hirimba, unlike Jamlu of Malana, has to attend the Dasehra fair in honour of Raghunathji, she has the privilege of habitually coming late. Bidher, as Captain Harcourt calls him, is also a personage from the *Mahabharata*, and his correct Sanskrit name is Vidura. In the Epic he figures as the son of Vyasa, the mythical author of the *Mahabharata*, by a slave girl. He is consequently a half-brother of Pandu, the father of the five Pandavas, to whom he, therefore, had the relationship of uncle. Though of impure descent on the mother's side, he is renowned for his wisdom and righteousness. As Vidura is a mythical personage, his reputed sons—Makhar and Bhot—must also be regarded in the same light. The names were evidently invented to account for the geographical terms—Makarsa (Kulu) and Bhot (Tibet). The story of Bhot and Makar—a purely local legend—has thus been grafted on to the ancient Epic legend of Bhimasena and Hidimba.

Bias Rikhi is not a goddess, as supposed by Captain Harcourt, but a sage—Vyasa *rishi*,—and the father of Vidura, as related.

The town of Makaraha stood at the junction of the Hurla stream with the Bias, almost opposite to Bajaura.

There Makar's descendants are said to have ruled for a time, but the dynasty ultimately died out, or was exterminated by some of the neighbouring petty Chiefs, and the town fell into decay. Their rule, if it ever existed, was probably on a par with that of the Ranas and Thakurs, who at that early period were the real rulers of the hills.

The name of the town in common use in Kulu is Makaraha (Makarasa) owing probably to the fact that in many parts of the hills, down even to the present day, the letter *s* or *sh* was pronounced as *h* or *kh*.[1] Captain Harcourt has *Makaraha*. The second member of the compound, *viz.*, *asa* (aha), has the meaning of "country" or "region." Makarasa afterwards became contracted to *Makarsa* and down to quite recent times this name was applied to the whole of Kulu.

As in the case of many of the other Hill States, the founder of the Pal line of Rajas in Kulu is believed to have come from the plains. The earlier seat of the family is said to have been at Prayag or Allahabad. From there they migrated into the mountains of Almora, and after some time moved westwards and conquered Mayapuri or Hardwar, where they settled. They are also said to have extended their rule over the territory now in Suket and Mandi, and at an early period a cadet of the family, named Behangamani-Pal, is traditionally believed to have founded Kulu State. At a much later period (*c.* A.D. 765), the head of the family was Than-Pal, and his sons were Bhog-Pal and Som-Pal, the elder of whom founded Balor.[2] It is certain, however, that Balor was founded at a much later period than Kulu, but the reference in the Balor *Vansavali* is interesting, as corroborating the tradition that both families sprang from a common parent stem. The tradition connecting the original family with Mayapuri is found in all the different branches, each of which founded a kingdom. These are: Kulu, Balor (Basohli), Bhadu and Bhadrawah. A fifth branch is said to have founded a small State in the Lower Chenab Valley, called Batol, possibly the Vartula of the *Rajatarangini*. This branch embraced Islam, probably in the reign of Shahjahan. The original

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[1] Cf. *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pages 112, 197.

[2] The clan name of the Kulu Rajas is *Kaulua*, contracted to *Kolua* and *Kola*.

suffix of all these families was Pal. The royal families of Kulu and Balor claim to have been separate offshoots from the parent stem, but Balor was probably an offshoot from Kulu, as stated in the Bhadu *Vansavali*; while Bhadu, Bhadrawah and Batol were offshoots from Balor.

Kulu was founded, as we have seen, not later than the first or second century and possibly earlier, and Balor or Vallapura in the eighth century. Bhadu was originally a fief of Balor, and did not become independent till the middle of the eleventh century, and Bhadrawah about the time of Akbar. If Batol was identical with Vartula, as has been suggested, it must have been founded at an early period; for it is referred to in the *Rajatarangini* in the beginning of the twelfth century.[1]

The original capital of Kulu State was at Nast or Jagat-sukh, and there the early Rajas ruled for twelve generations till, in the reign of Visudh-Pal, the seat of government was transferred to Nagar, and about A.D. 1660, in the reign of Jagat-Singh, to Sultanpur.

Behangamani, the founder of the State, is said to have been one of eight brothers, and was accompanied to Kulu by his *rani*, and his son, Pachch-Pal, as also his family priest, *parohit* Udai-Ram. He first went to Manikarn, and afterwards attacked and overcame some of the petty Chiefs in the Parbati Valley. This, however, seems to have been only a temporary success, and he next appears as a fugitive at Jagat-sukh, living in concealment in the house of one Chapai-Ram.

Many legends are associated with his name. One day as he lay asleep on a rock near Jagat-sukh, which is still shown, a Pandit passed by and observed on the sleeper the signs of greatness and noble birth.[2] On awaking him and inquiring into his lineage, Behangamani said that he was a *zamindar*.

The Pandit, however, was not to be deceived and pressed for a true answer, at the same time assuring him that he would become king of the country. Behangamani then admitted

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[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, pages 77-8 and 120. Batol is also called Deng-Batol. *Rajatarangini.*, Stein, VIII, 287, 537—541.

[2] Probably the *padami* or *urdh rekh*—high line—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life," on the hand, running along the sole of the foot, from the toe to the heel, believed to be peculiar to Rajputs.

his royal descent and begged the Pandit to keep his secret, as otherwise he would be killed by the Ranas and Thakurs. The Pandit promised to do so, and assured Behangamani that no one should have the power to kill him, for his star was on the ascendant. Then, with an eye to his own advantage, he exacted a promise, that, on becoming Raja, Behangamani should confer a grant of land upon him, and this promise was confirmed by touching hands. The Pandit demanded a portion of land between each stream falling into the Bias, and also around the rock where he first saw Behangamani. The stone is still shown on the road between Manali and Jagat-sukh, and is called *Jagati Pat.* The Pandit then took his departure to Triloknath in Chamba-Lahul on pilgrimage, saying that his words would be fulfilled before his return.

Meanwhile the *zamindars,* who were the subjects of the Ranas and Thakurs, had been goaded into resistance by the exactions of these petty Chiefs, and, having formed a confederacy against them, decided to choose some one else as ruler. A short time afterwards a *jatra* or religious fair, called *Jajoli Jatra,* was held at Basnara, a village near Jagat-sukh. Behangamani came alone to the fair, and on the road he was accosted by an old woman, who asked him to take her on his back as she was unable to walk. This he did, and also promised to carry her on the return journey in the same way. When they reached the rocks at Jura village, opposite Basnara, she jumped down and told Behangamani to mount her back, and by this he perceived that he was in the company of a goddess. Hirimba, for it was she, then said: "I have given you my blessing, and you will become king of the country." Behangamani urged that he was a stranger, poor and alone, but Hirimba repeated her promise and told him to go to the Shabari Temple in Shuru village near Jagat-sukh, and there the goddess would appear to him. Behangamani then went on to the fair, the goddess accompanying him, and the people hailed him with the salutation of "Jaidea," accorded only to a royal personage. An outbreak then took place against the Ranas and Thakurs, many of whom were killed, and Behangamani was established as Raja, and the petty Chiefs paid him tribute.

This is the version in the Chronicle. Divested of all the myth and fable which have gathered around his name, we may simply conclude that Behangamani was a royal

adventurer, from the outer hills, accompanied probably by a small band of followers, who was successful in gaining a footing in the Upper Bias Valley, by overcoming some of the local petty Chiefs. This as we know was the way most of the other Hill States were founded, and probably Kulu was no exception to the rule. The main features of the story, therefore, may be accepted as authentic.

On his death Behangamani was succeeded by his son, *Pachch-Pal,* who continued the contest with the Ranas and Thakurs, in his endeavour to consolidate the kingdom. He overcame the Rana of Gojra and the Rana of Bevala, who probably held the country around Manali; and his younger brother, Narindar-Pal, is said to have been killed in the fighting. He also strove with one, Gumar Surat, and killed him. Those who submitted were made to pay tribute, and this tributary relationship, between the petty Chiefs and the Rajas, was probably the common condition of things all over the hills for many centuries. Their subjection was only nominal, and the tribute was forthcoming only when there was no other alternative.

Bihang-Pal and *Durhin* or *Hin-Pal* followed, and of these Chiefs nothing is recorded; but we may assume that their reigns were not peaceful.

Svarg-Pal, the next in succession, had two sons by different mothers, named Sakti and Janak, who contested the succession, as they were born about the same time. The *zamindars* who were their subjects advised them to divide the territory, and at last they consulted a *parohit* as to whose right it was to reign, and he decided in favour of *Sakti-Pal,* as he was the son of the elder *rani.* He was then acknowledged as Raja. He was in his turn followed by *Mahisvar* or *Mahindar-Pal* ; *Om-Pal* and *Rajendar-Pal.* At that time the Rana of Gajan in Kothi Barsai, between Jagat-sukh and Nagar, named Surat-Chand, died without male heirs, leaving only a daughter, named Rup Sundari, who succeeded. On hearing this, Rajendar Pal sent to demand tribute from her, and she being a spirited lady refused to pay. Rajendar-Pal then sent a force against her, and in the fighting eleven of his sons are said to have been killed. Only two remained, and one of them was sent to the *rani,* with a letter from the Raja, to try to arrange terms. On presenting the letter he did not offer any salutation, and the *rani* being annoyed placed a guard over him. Thereupon he produced his

brother's likeness, and on seeing it the *rani* yielded and offered to marry him. A message was then sent to the Raja to tell him of her offer, and ask him to desist from fighting. Rajendar-Pal seems to have been only too pleased to do so, and preparations were then made for the wedding, and the pair were duly married. Thus Kothi Barsai, in which Gajan was situated, came into the Raja's hands, and was so called, it is said, from *baras*, 'a year,' because it was acquired within a year, seemingly from the commencement of hostilities.

Visad-Pal succeeded on his father's decease, and still further enlarged the boundaries of the State. At that time Nagar was held by a Rana, named Karm-Chand, with whom the Raja waged war. The Rana seems to have been faint-hearted, for he hid himself for four years, and was at last killed in battle. He had a son who succeeded, and from whom the Raja exacted tribute.

Visuddh-Pal followed, and it was probably in this or the following reign that Nagar was finally conquered and annexed. In the case of all the preceding Rajas, Nast (Jagat-sukh) is recorded as their place of residence, but Visuddh-Pal had his capital at Nagar. The Chronicle says: *Nagar Rajai Sri ka*, "the town of the illustrious Raja"; also *Nagar Tripuri Sundri abad hua*, "the town of Tripuri Sundri was inhabited." The temple of Tripuri Sundri is situated above Nagar. These sentences, however, seem suspicious, and internal evidence appears to indicate that they are of much later date. At the same time it seems probable that the transfer of the capital to Nagar actually took place about this time.

The next Rajas were *Uttam-Pal*; *Dvij-Pal*; *Chakar-Pal*; *Karn-Pal* and *Suraj-Pal*, about whom the Chronicle contains no record.

At that early period there is mention of one Piti, Thakur, who lived at Rumsu above Nagar, and apparently held possession of a portion of the Upper Bias Valley towards the Hamta Pass, near the head of which are still to be seen the ruins of the fort ascribed to him.[1] There would seem to have been many in succession bearing this name, which was really a title, meaning the "Spiti Lord," as they came from Spiti.[2] One of them is said to have been killed in the fighting about this time. From an early period the Tibetans of

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[1] Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 70-1-2.

[2] *Spiti* is pronounced as *Piti*.

Spiti seem to have been in the habit of making incursions into Kulu, and they seized territory to the south of the high passes; but being unable to live at a lower altitude then 7,000 or 8,000 feet they never advanced into the main valley. Each of the Tibetan leaders was called "Piti Thakur" by the Kulu people. They were still in possession as late as the reign of Sidh-Singh, A.D. 1500, by whom they were finally driven out.

Suraj-Pal is said to have had no heir, but many illegitimate sons. He was succeeded by *Raksh-Pal*, but we are not told what relationship the latter bore to his predecessor. He too died without issue and was succeeded by his brother, *Rudar-Pal*. There were other brothers, however, who disputed the succession, and they all began to fight among themselves, and some of them were killed. The Ranas, on seeing this conflict going on, agreed to combine and exterminate the family. Realizing their danger in time, the brothers made up their quarrel, and all recognized *Rudar-Pal* as Raja. The Ranas were then opposed in battle and completely defeated, those who survived being made to pay tribute.

A new danger soon afterwards arose in consequence of an invasion of Kulu by the Raja of Spiti, named *Rajendar-Sen*. The country was subdued and Rudar-Pal in his turn had to pay tribute to Spiti. This note, if authentic, is exceedingly interesting, as showing that there was a Sena dynasty of Rajas in Spiti in early times, before Buddhism was introduced into the country.

In one of the records a reference to Chamba is found at this early period in the history of Kulu. Much uncertainty exists as to how much of Lahul was then under these States. The Rev. A. H. Francke, our chief authority, thinks that Upper Lahul—that is, the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga—was under Kulu from early times, while the main valley, from the junction of these rivers, was tributary to Chamba. Ladakh also may have exercised some influence in Upper Lahul, as the name is identified with the Tibetan words *Lho Yul*, meaning "the southern country." The Tibetans, however, call the country *Garzha*. Chamba is said to have conquered Lahul from Kulu in Rudar-Pal's reign, and seemingly about the same time as Kulu itself was invaded and subdued by the Raja of Spiti. Possibly Chamba and Spiti combined against Kulu, and the invasions were simultaneous.

The State seems to have remained tributary to Spiti during this reign and that of *Hamir-Pal*, the next Raja; paying the tribute money, amounting to six annas in the rupee, of yearly revenue; but on Hamir-Pal's death his son, *Parsidh Pal*, declined to continue the payment of tribute, and moved out with an army to oppose Chet-Sen, the Spiti Chief. The battle was fought somewhere near the Rotang Pass, and Parsidh-Pal was victorious, thus freeing his country from the dominion of Spiti. Lahul was also recovered from Chamba about the same time.

Parsidh-Pal was followed by *Harichand-Pal*; *Subhat-Pal*; *Som-Pal* and *Sansar-Pal*. In Sansar-Pal's reign another interesting note occurs in the Chronicle. It is said that after Chet-Sen's defeat by Kulu, Spiti was invaded by Gya mur orr,[1] presumably Ladakh or Rupshu, and Chet-Sen was defeated and slain. The ruler of Gya mur orr then granted some villages in *jagir* to Chet-Sen's son, and three villages to Sansar-Pal of Kulu, who had assisted him; retaining the remainder of Spiti in his own hands. Possibly this note records the final overthrow and extinction of the pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty in Spiti, when the country passed under Tibetan rule. This may have happened about A.D. 600—650.

Bhog-Pal succeeded and his claim was contested by his brother, Vibhay-Pal. A war ensued between them and resulted in Bhog-Pal's death, and he was succeeded by *Vibhay-Pal* who in turn was followed by *Brahm-Pal*. The last-named left no legitimate sons, and the Chronicle states that the Rajas of Chamba, Ladakh, Suket, Bashahr, Kangra and Bangahal agreed to make Ganesh-Pal, an illegitimate son of the late Raja, his successor.

This is the first occasion on which a reference occurs to any of the neighbouring Hill States, and it is of some interest to inquire how far it can be accepted as authentic. As regards Kangra and Chamba, we know that they were founded at an early period, but in the case of the latter the reference must be to Brahmapura, the original name of the State. Ladakh at that early period was a province of the Tibetan kingdom, and was ruled from Lhāsa; Bashahr may also have been in existence as it was of ancient origin, but it seems improbable that Suket and Bangahal had then been founded. We are, therefore, disposed to think that

[1] This place has not been identified, but it may have been Gya and Rupshu in Ladakh, or some place in Gugé.

the statement in the Chronicle is not fully reliable. Possibly it may have been tampered with by some later copyist.

Gambhir-Pal, the next Raja, had two sons, named Bhumi-Pal and Sukhu-Pal, who contended for the *gaddi*,—a contest in which *Bhumi-Pal* was successful.

Of Bhumi-Pal's reign we know nothing. He was succeeded by his son, *Sri-Dateshvar-Pal*. In this Raja's reign another reference to Chamba is found in the Chronicle. At that early period Chamba State was confined to the upper part of the Ravi Valley, with the capital at Brahmapura, now Brahmaur. The State was then expanding east and west under an energetic ruler whom we may perhaps identify with Meru-Varman (*c.* A.D. 680—700).[1] In the Kulu Chronicle the name is Amar, but no such name occurs in the Chamba *Vansavali*. The Chamba forces most probably advanced through Lahul, and over the Rotang Pass, and were met by the Kulu Chief, who was defeated and killed. Gobardhan was then Raja of Indrapat (Delhi). On his father's death, Amar-Pal took command of the Kulu forces, and with his two sons opposed the Chamba advance, but in vain. He, too, with one of his sons was slain, and the second son, named *Sital-Pal*, fled to Bashahr to ask for help. There the family seems to have remained for some time, as Sital-Pal and five of his descendants never reigned, and probably were all the time at the Bashahr Court as political refugees. Meantime Kulu seems to have been under the rule of Chamba.

Sri-Jaresvar-Pal was the sixth in descent from Sital-Pal, and seems to have still been a refugee at Bashahr, waiting for an opportunity to recover his kingdom. Such an opportunity soon afterwards occurred, and with the help of Bashahr he drove out the Chamba garrison and recovered the State. It is possible that this event took place about A.D. 780—800 when Chamba was invaded by the "Kiras" or Tibetans and the Raja killed. The Chamba State continued under alien rule for about 20 years, so that it would be an easy matter for Sri-Jaresvar-Pal to recover his country. He was followed by *Parkash-Pal*; *Achamba-Pal*; *Tapanesvar-Pal*; *Param-Pal* and *Nagendar-Pal*, of whom nothing special is on record.

Narad-Pal's reign was marked by another war with Chamba (Brahmapura). The Chamba forces advanced to Majnakot, a village near the foot of the Rotang Pass, and

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 70.

built a fort. The war continued for twelve years, a phrase which in the hills seems to bear the meaning, "for a long time," and then a peace was concluded. But the Kulu people were insincere and only sought for an opportunity to destroy the invaders. A social gathering was arranged to which the Chamba people were invited, ostensibly to cement the truce which had been concluded; and the place fixed upon was Kothi village on the other side of the Bias. The river there flows through a deep and narrow gorge, which at that time was spanned by two beams with cross planks, there being no bridge. As the feast was to be at night, two Kulu men secretly went on ahead and removed the planks and placed some long grass across instead. When the Chamba men arrived in the darkness each man in trying to cross fell into the gorge. Many were drowned before the deceit was discovered by the drummers going down, when the sound of the drums ceasing aroused suspicion. Those who remained on the right bank turned and fled, but practically the whole Chamba force was destroyed.[1]

This war is still recalled in local tradition, according to which the Gaddi Army, as the Chamba army was called, besieged the Rana of Manali in the lower Manali fort on the "Gaddi Padar" or "Gaddi Plain" for a long time.

The Kulu garrison was in great straits, their supplies having become almost exhausted, and in order to deceive the besiegers they milked a bitch, mixed some rice with the milk and made *khir* (rice and milk) which they threw out to the Gaddis. Seeing this the latter came to the conclusion that provisions in the fort were abundant and raised the siege. It is interesting to note that the Chamba force is traditionally called "the Gaddi Army," showing that it came from Brahmapura, the original capital and the home of the Gaddis.

Narottam-Pal; *Shish-Pal* and *Bhupal* or *Bhup-Pal* followed in succession. Bhup-Pal's name is interesting for it is found in the Suket Chronicle, where he is said to have been a contemporary of Bir-Sen, the founder of that State. The Kulu Chronicle states that in his reign the country was invaded by the Raja of Suket, who overran the State and made it tributary. This is confirmed by the Suket Chronicle which states that Bir-Sen, the Raja of that State, led an army into Saraj and defeated Bhup-Pal,

[1] A similar story is told of a Mandi force which perished in a ravine near Mangarh in Kothi Mangarh in the reign of Man-Singh.

the Kulu Raja, and made him prisoner. The State was afterwards released on condition of tribute and feudal service. This event may have taken place about A.D. 900, but it seems doubtful if Bir-Sen was the Raja at the time. The Suket State, according to Sir A. Cunningham, was founded about A.D. 765,[1] by Raja Bir-Sen, and, from what we know of the early history of other States, the extensive conquests attributed in the Suket history to him seem very improbable. The fact of the invasion remains, but it was more likely made by a later Raja. Bhup-Pal's successor, *Anirudh-Pal*, also continued to pay tribute to Suket, but his son, Hast-Pal, was freed from tribute on condition of giving aid to Suket in a civil war. In the Suket Chronicle this occurrence is noted and confirmed. There the Kulu Raja is called *Hait-Pal*, and the story is thus told:[2] Raja Bikram-Sen, grandson of Raja Bir-Sen, after succeeding to the *gaddi*, went on pilgrimage to Hardwar, leaving his younger brother, Tribikram-Sen, in charge of the State. Tribikram-Sen, however, was unfaithful to his trust, and aimed at claiming the kingdom for himself. To secure the assistance of the Kulu Chief in this design, his State was restored, on condition that Hast-Pal, or Hait-Pal, as he is called, rendered support on Bikram-Sen's return. The latter came back in two years, and hearing on the way of what had happened, he sought the aid of the Rana of Keonthal, his own kinsman, and met his brother's force, supported by that of Kulu, at Jiuri on the Satluj. After a hotly contested fight, Tribikram-Sen and Hait-Pal of Kulu were both killed. Bikram-Sen of Suket then advanced into Kulu and took possession of the country, allotting only a small *jagir* to Hait-Pal's son. An interregnum then occurred, the fact of which is confirmed by both Chronicles, during which Suket held full possession of Kulu; the descendants of Hast-Pal, named Dhani-Ram, Gopal-Das and Lachmi-Das, being only *jagirdars*.

In the third generation from the time of Bikram-Sen of Suket, the *gaddi* was occupied by a minor, named Lakshman-Sen, and the Kulu Raja, named *Surat-Pal*—called *Hashir-Pal* in the Suket Chronicle—assumed independence.[3] Fourteen years later, on coming of age, the Suket Raja is said to have again subdued Kulu and annexed Waziri Rupi,

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[1] Cf. *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume XIV, page 123, and Volume XV page 156.

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, pages 5, 6.

[3] Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, page 6.

Lag, Saraj and a portion of Waziri Parol. This latter invasion, however, is not confirmed by the Kulu Chronicle.

Santokh Pal, the next Raja, is said to have conquered Gya mur orr and other portions of the territory, probably in Ladakh. His son, *Tegh-Pal*, conquered Baltistan, killing the Chief, named Muhammad Khan, and making his son tributary. These statements seem open to suspicion and require corroboration. The next Raja was *Uchit-Pal*, who invaded Tibet, but on his death the Rajas of Lhassa, Gya mur orr and Baltistan are said to have invaded Kulu, seized the Raja's son while engaged in performing his father's funeral ceremonies, and put him in confinement in Mohangarh (in Kothi Chaparsa, near the Bubu Pass) and held possession of the country for some time.

This is probably the invasion referred to in the Ladakh annals, as having taken place in the reign of Lha Chen Utpala, *c.* A.D. 1125—50.[1] On that occasion, the King of Kulu bound himself by oath to pay tribute in *dzos* and iron to the king of Ladakh "so long as the glaciers of the Kailasa do not melt away, or the Manasarovar Lake dry up." This treaty remained in force down to the reign of Sengge Namgyal (A.D. 1590—1620),[2] and even later. The *dzos* or half-bred yaks must have gone from Lahul as there are none in Kulu, and this circumstance tends to confirm the popular tradition that Lahul was in early times subject to Kulu and Chamba. Kulu probably held the Chandra and Bhaga Valleys down to their junction at Tandi, while Chamba held the main valley downwards to Pangi. The real rulers of the country, however, were the Ranas and Thakurs, who acknowledged the supremacy of the paramount power only by the payment of tribute, and whose descendants are still in possession of a portion of their ancient domains. The invasion of Kulu in question must have been made through Lahul, and both countries became tributary to Ladakh.

The next Raja, *Sikandar-Pal*, then went to Delhi to complain that the Chinese (? Tibetans) had invaded his territory, and the King of Delhi came in person with an army which passed through Kulu and conquered Gya mur orr, Baltistan and Tibet, as far as Mantilae (Manasarovar) Lake. All these paid tribute to Delhi through the Kulu Raja, who

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[1] Francke, *Western Tibet*, page 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 65.

was restored to his dominions. "This," Captain Harcourt remarks, "is a curious record, and still more curious if true; and it has an aspect of veracity about it as the lake now called Manasarowa (Mansarovar) was in olden days termed Mantilae, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether Indian armies had ever penetrated so far north as this."

Saras-Pal; *Sahdev-Pal*; *Sri Mahdev-Pal* and *Nirati-Pal* followed in succession, of whom we have no details; except the note that in the time of Narati-Pal the ruler of Kashmir was Ali Sher Khan, whom we may perhaps identify with Ali Sher (A.D. 1351—63), the younger brother of Jamshid, who however, can hardly have been a contemporary of Nirati-Pal. The note probably refers to a later reign in Kulu and may have become displaced in the *Vansavali* in copying.[1] (Cf. *Ferishta*, Brigg's trans., 1910. Volume IV, page 457). *Bain-Pal*, the next Raja, was followed by *Hast-Pal* II, in whose reign the Raja of Bashahr invaded Kulu and after exacting tribute left the country. This tribute continued to be paid during the next reign, that of *Sasi-Pal*, but his son, *Gambhir-Pal*, succeeded in freeing his country from Bashahr, and took possession of the portion of that State on the right bank of the Satluj, which river became the boundary.

Nishudan-Pal, the next Raja, was followed by *Narendar-Pal*, in whose time Kulu was conquered by Bangahal and remained subject to that State for ten years. A second *Santokh-Pal* was succeeded by *Nand-Pal*, in whose reign Kulu became tributary to Kangra, and this subjection continued through the following reign, under *Dhatri-Pal*. *Indar-Pal*, however, threw off allegiance to Kangra and recovered his independence.

Mahi-chakar-Pal, *Jayadhar-Pal* and *Keral-Pal* followed in succession.

In Keral-Pal's reign Kulu was again invaded by the Raja of Suket. He conquered the country and fixed the boundary at Siunsa near Manali in the Bias Valley and at the Parbati river in Waziri Rupi. He is said to have granted the land between the Siunsa Nala and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Bias, to a local petty Chief, named Rana Bhosal, or possibly the Rana may have inherited it from his ancestors.[2]

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[1] This may perhaps be a reminiscence of the invasion of China (?Tibet) by Muhammad Shah Tughlak (A.D. 1339). Cf. *Kooloo, Lahaul and Spiti*, page 117, and Ferishta, 1909, Volume I, page 416.

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, pages 7-8.

Rana Bhosal was married to a Suket princess and resided at the fortified palace of Garh Dhek, immediately below the modern village of Baragran. His capital was Sangor, opposite Nagar, and his chief defence was the huge dressed-stone fort of Baragarh. His wife was named Rupni, his son Tika Ghungru, and his daughter Dei Ghudari.

The Rana was notorious for his stupidity, and the following popular saying about him is still current :—

Barah pethe : athara dane

Bhosal Rana sar na jane.

Free translation :—

Twelve pumpkins and eighteen tax-collectors.

Bhosal Rana knows nothing of government.

The story runs that a villager brought twelve pumpkins to the Hat bazaar for sale, and eighteen men came demanding the octroi dues. Twelve of them took a pumpkin each, and the rest followed dunning the man for their dues. He appealed to Rana Bhosal, but no notice was taken. Seeing this indifference he went to the burning-ghat, and as each body was brought, he asked Re. 1-4-0 as *lug* (burning dues). This was paid under the impression that it was a new tax imposed by the State. After some time the fraud was discovered, and the man, on being summoned, excused himself by telling his story, and adding that, where such laxness prevailed, he thought himself entitled to follow the general example.

A similar story is told of a man in Delhi in the time of the Mughals, who on being found out and questioned as to his authority for taking the tax at the burning-ghat, replied that he was *Ranikhan ka bhai*, that is, a near relative of the queen's.

The Rana had a Wazir, named Tita Mehta, whose descendants are still in Kulu. This man fell in love with the *rani*, but his advances were repelled, and he determined on revenge. A new watercourse had been made to the Rana's rice fields, and Tita persuaded him into the belief that the water would not flow unless the *rani* was buried alive in the line of the *kuhl* or watercourse. An order was accordingly given for this to be done. The tomb was not an ordinary grave, but a kind of cellar constructed by a workman, named Kalu, who was *dharmbhai*, or foster-brother, to the *rani*. She pleaded earnestly with him,

and he built the tomb so that she could move about in it, and even crouch down. At night Tita came to see the place, and finding her alive he tried to grasp her by the hair. She crouched down and eluded his grasp, so he cast big stones on her and killed her. Captain Harcourt, however, states that it was an ordinary grave, and that the *rani* continued to give suck to her child, while the earth was being filled in.[1]

On returning to the palace the Wazir was asked by the children what had become of their mother, and he told them to ask Kalu, the workman. On inquiring from him he said "Go to the stable, mount and carry word to your uncle of Suket." So they took horse and rode to Suket, and the Tika cast his *pagri* before his uncle. Then he came with an army and captured both the Rana and the Wazir. The latter he flayed alive, and sprinkled him with pepper and cut him into small pieces, which were besmeared on the leaves of the trees. The Rana he could not kill, but he dressed him in a kilt, woven from hemp, and put on him a necklace of dried cowdung and pelted him with cowdung all the way to his boundary. The children were taken to Suket, and Baragarh was ruled from there until annexed to Kulu in the time of Sidh-Singh.[2]

In local tradition, however, the fort is said to have been captured by Raja Bidhi-Singh.

The Kulu Chronicle states that the same Suket Raja granted the *waziris* of Lag-Maharaja and Lag-Sari to the family of his *parohit*, in expiation of a sin which he had committed. It is more probable, however, that the grant was made at a much later time, by Parbat-Sen, *c.* A.D. 1500, as related in the Suket annals. From this family sprang the Rajas of Lag, who held rule over a large tract of territory, till their kingdom was overturned by Jagat-Singh of Kulu.

After Keral-Pal the following Rajas ruled the State: *Hans-Pal, Agast-Pal, Madan-Pal* and *Urdhan-Pal*. The date of the last-named Raja's reign is fixed by two inscriptions bearing his name. One of these is on a Hirma mask with the date S. 94 = A.D. 1418, the other on a stone in the wall of the Sandhya Devi temple at Jagat-sukh, which he is believed to have built. It runs as follows: *Sri*

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, page 75.

[2] Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 78-79, for a similar story; also Francke, *Western Tibet*, page 190.

Maharaja Udhran Pal Sandya Devi Kali Muraihai, S. 4. ba, ti, 1.=A.D. 1428. Urdhan-Pal therefore ruled about that time.[1]

Kelas-Pal, c. A.D. 1428.—Kelas-Pal was the last Raja of Kulu who bore the suffix or surname of Pal, and he probably ruled till about A.D. 1450. After him there is a long break of about 50 years, during which there seems to have been no Raja in Kulu. Meanwhile Suket retained its hold over a large part of the country, and to it many of the Ranas and Thakurs were tributary; while others regained their independence.

To this period we should perhaps refer the invasion of Goggadesa by Zain-ul-abidin (A.D. 1420—70) of Kashmir, who is said to have "robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kuluta," doubtless referring to Nagar, then the capital. No mention is made of any Raja at the time.[2]

It was probably towards the end of this interregnum that the kingdom of Lag was founded.[3] As related in the Suket annals, Parbat-Sen of Suket (*c.* A.D. 1500) had cast a false accusation on a *parohit*, who committed suicide in consequence, after cursing the Raja. To avert the evil effects of the curse, Parbat-Sen bestowed the Lag and Sari Waziris on the *parohit's* family, including the whole country between the Phojal Nala and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Bias. The family afterwards acquired territory in Saraj and other parts, and became independent. They continued to rule till the reign of Jagat-Singh, by whom their territory was subdued and annexed to Kulu. According to tradition they were Diwans or Wazirs of Suket.

Sidh-Singh, A.D. 1500.—According to the *Vansavali* there must have been an interregnum of half a century or more, of which we have no record, between Kelas-Pal and his successor, Sidh-Singh. The traditions and legends associated with the name of the latter have led some to believe that he was the founder of a new dynasty, and the change of the suffix from Pal to Singh has been urged as a proof of this. So far as the change of suffix is concerned, it must be admitted that this is of no significance whatever. A similar change took place about the same period in many of the royal families of the Panjab hills, and also in Rajputana,

[1] The correct spelling is 'Urdhan,' but in the records it is misspelt as Udhran.'

[2] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini.*, verse 1108.

[3] Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, p. 151.

and, even when the head of the family retained the original suffix, the younger branches in many instances adopted that of Singh. It was simply the fashion of the time among the Rajputs.

The traditions and legends referred to are very similar in the case of Behangamani-Pal and Sidh-Singh. Both are said to have come from Mayapuri or Hardwar, the inference being that they were from the same family.

In the *Vansavali* there is no suggestion that Sidh-Singh came of a different line; on the contrary it seems to be assumed that he was descended from the Pal-family, and he himself originally bore the same suffix. We, therefore, conclude that the weight of evidence is in favour of there having been only one dynasty.

It is permissible to conjecture that towards the end of the reign of Kelas-Pal a combined revolt on the part of the Ranas and Thakurs against the Raja resulted in his being driven into exile. He may then have retired to Mayapuri to await a favourable opportunity to recover the State. Such an occurrence is known to have taken place in other Hill States. Sidh-Singh may, therefore, have been the grandson or great-grandson of Kelas-Pal. On the whole, this seems to be the most natural conclusion to arrive at. So far as we are aware there is not a single instance in the history of the Panjab Hill States of a change of dynasty, and it seems improbable that such a change took place in Kulu.

The story of Sidh-Singh's adventures is thus told in the *Vansavali.* On arriving in Kulu from Mayapuri, Sidh-Pal, as he was then called, is said to have taken up his abode in the village of Hat near Bajaura. Seeing the shrine of Bijli Mahadeo on the opposite hill, he inquired whose it was, and was told that any one taking water from the *sangam*, the junction of the Bias and Parbati rivers, and pouring it over the god would receive the reward of his pious deed. Sidh-Pal resolved on doing this, and having carried out his intention he slept in the temple for the night. Then the god appeared to him in a dream and told him to go to Jagat-sukh, where he would receive the promised reward. On arriving there he stayed in the house of a potter. In the morning as he was sitting with his knees crossed, a Brahman entered and saw the *padami*, or sign of royalty, on the sole of his foot. The Brahman then said, "You will obtain

rule, and a goddess will meet you." Sidh-Pal replied, "Do not say so to any one or the Ranas will kill me." The Brahman repeated his words and asked a grant of land, which was promised if the prediction came true.

Sidh-Pal then went to the *jatra* or fair at Jagat-sukh, and on the way he fell in with the goddess Hirimba, in the guise of an old woman carrying a *kilta* (basket) on her back. Being of a kindly disposition he offered to carry the *kilta*, and taking it from her put it on his own back. They then proceeded on their way to the fair. At last they reached a big stone, and making him put the *kilta* on the ground, Hirimba took Sidh-Pal on her shoulder and raised herself 32 *kos* high. She then asked him how far he could see, and he replied that in one direction he could see to Dalasni, in another to Chorot plain, and in a third to Kale Kanauri. On receiving this answer she said, "You will acquire as much land as you can see," and then disappeared.

Sidh-Pal then went on to the fair and was hailed with "Jaidea" by all present, that is, he was at once recognized as Raja.

Fearing the anger of the Ranas he concealed himself in the house of a Brahman and thus escaped. At night the Brahman's wife came to milk the cow, and there being no one to hold the calf, Sidh-Pal came out from his place of concealment and did so. While thus engaged, a lion entered the place, which he killed, and from that circumstance his surname was changed from Pal to Singh.[1] Soon afterwards the people assembled and elected him as Raja of Waziri Parol, and he then entered on the conquest of the country from the Ranas and Thakurs, who refused to acknowledge his rule.

In its main features this story bears a strong resemblance to that which is related of Behangamani-Pal, the founder of the State, and it may have been reintroduced into the *Vansavali* simply to glorify the new Raja. At the same time it seems quite possible that, after a long exile, Sidh-Singh, the then head of the family, actually did return from Mayapuri and was acknowledged as Raja, as a means of relief from the oppression of the petty Chiefs.

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[1] A similar story is found in other *Vansavalis* to account for the change of suffix. It was simply the fashion of the time, and really a revival of the original suffix of *Sinha* or *Sih* in use among Rajput families in Rajputana and elsewhere at a much earlier period.

Sidh-Singh had to put forth strenuous efforts to subdue the Ranas and Thakurs, who, during a long period of complete independence, had regained full power all over the country. In the other Hill States of which we possess historical records, the policy of the Rajas was to stir up strife among the Ranas and Thakurs, and set them against one another. In this way many of them were got rid of, either by complete subjection or assassination. This policy Sidh-Singh adopted in Kulu. At the beginning of his reign both banks of the Bias above Jagat-sukh were held by a powerful Chief named Jhinna Rana, whose name still survives in local tradition, and whose ancestors seem to have been in possession from a remote period. His chief strongholds were at Mandankot and Manali, and being too powerful to be attacked openly, Sidh-Singh resorted to treachery after the manner of the times.

Jhinna Rana had a groom of Dagi caste, bearing the nickname of Muchiani,[1] on account of the length of his mustache, who was a noted sportsman with bow and arrow. The Rana objected to the long mustache, and the groom refused to shave it, giving rise to unpleasantness between them. At last the Rana brought the matter to a crisis by calling upon the groom to kill a *maina* sitting on a cow's back, without wounding the cow, failing which his mustache would be shorn. This the groom did and saved his mustache, but at the cost of all good feeling between himself and his master. This was Sidh-Singh's opportunity, and he sent for the Muchiani, and bribed him to kill the Rana. The latter had gone to look at his rice fields at Kumanu and Rambar below Basisht, and as he was riding back the Muchiani shot him in the thigh with an arrow. A pillar (*ora*) still marks the spot where this took place, and the range is fully 300 yards. The Rana rode off to Mandankot, and at the spring of Bairakuta he stopped to drink water and died. The riderless horse galloped off to the stable, and soon afterwards the Muchiani came along towards the fort, playing a dirge on a sieve to announce the death of his master. On hearing this the *rani* ordered the funeral pyre to be prepared and set fire to the fort, perishing with all her women including the Muchiani's wife.

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[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 72, 73, 74.

NOTE.—*Mochh*, plural *muchhen*, really means mustache.

Sidh-Singh rewarded the Muchiani with the Kumanu *ropa* or rice fields, which his descendants still hold and bear the same name. The family, however, has a bad reputation in Kulu, and are forbidden to attend the Darbar.

After her *sati* the *rani* is believed to have become a *jogin* (goddess), and her shrine is in the ruins of Mandankot. She is regarded as having control over the weather, especially as the giver of rain, and when rain is needed and fails, some Muchianis are sent to burn a cow's skin near her shrine, which has the desired effect ; the smell of burnt cow hide and the proximity of the Muchianis being beyond endurance. The Muchiani's wife is also worshipped as a *jogin*.

At the time of Jhinna's death one of his wives was pregnant, and the *rani* sent her out of the fort before setting fire to it. In due course a boy was born, and when old enough was sent to herd buffaloes on the Gaddi Plain. One day the Raja had come to sacrifice a buffalo to Hirimba at Dhungri, and the animal got loose, and ran away. The boy was there with his bow and arrow, and he shot the buffalo, or, as some say, caught it by the horns. The Raja then called him, and, finding out his parentage, granted him in *jagir* the Aleo plain near Manali. He founded the Nuwani family which to this day erects memorial stones to its dead, a royal privilege in Kulu, Suket and Mandi. The custom, however, originated with the Ranas and Thakurs in the hills, and was in use before the advent of the Rajas. The Nuwani family still cherish hatred of the Badani Rajas of Kulu, and when the head of that house dies they assemble, and make a feast, instead of showing signs of mourning.[1]

Traditions about Jhinna Rana still linger in Kulu. It is said that there are secret caves where his treasures were stored, and that a secret passage led to them from Mandankot. Some years ago a man found out the secret passage, so it is said, and entered the caves which were full of treasure. He returned without touching anything, in order to call others to help him to remove it, but on going back he failed to find the passage, and soon afterwards became mad—due, as is believed by the people, to the influence of the *jogins* or spirits of the caves.

The fort of Baragarh was the next place to be captured. It stood on a spur on the right side of the Bias opposite Nagar, from which it could be clearly seen. After Rana

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, page 74.

Bhosal's death, as related, it seems to have remained in the possession of Suket, and was held by a garrison. In the fort lived a woman whom the Kulu Chief had gained over to his side, and who promised to give a signal when a favourable opportunity offered for an assault. One day the garrison went down to Hurang Kothi for the Pali *jatra* on 2nd Jeth, and the woman then waved a red petticoat, the signal agreed on, which was seen from Nagar, and the Raja marched in by the Sujoin Nala, and captured the fort. The first thing he did on entering was to order the woman to be thrown down the precipice. Nagar castle is said to have been built with the stones from Garh Dhek and Sangor.[1]

But there were other petty Chiefs still to be overcome.[2] " From ancient time," as Mr. Howell tells us, " the Tibetans had been in the habit of crossing the passes, and making inroads into Kulu, and had formed settlements at the head of all the side ravines leading down into the main valleys. Each of these settlements was controlled by a local officer or chief, called ' Piti Thakur ' by the people of Kulu. One of these Thakurs, who enjoyed an evil reputation, lived in a fort, the remains of which are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagat-sukh. He is said to have drunk human milk, and also to have performed human sacrifice. As regards the latter no surprise need be felt, for there are indications that it was practised all through the hills down to a recent period. He had lieutenants who bore a reputation like his own, in Barnar, Dirot, Diabungi and Gowari forts, and also in several forts in the Chakki Nala. In fact these Tibetan officers or chiefs held the approaches to the Hamta and Chandarkanni Passes, and all the bye-paths by which these could be turned. Piti Thakur's place of worship was the Prini Temple of the Great God Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta Pass, leading over from Jagat-sukh to the Chandra Valley. In this temple alone, and down to the present day, the Spiti men go to make offerings. All other races must take off their shoes in the temple precincts, but Tibetans go in fully shod, and, when he is inspired, the local priest at the shrine speaks a language which he claims to be Tibetan. He also maintains that the god came from Bhotant (Tibet), Chin (China), or Pangu Padul Mansarovar ; and incidentally this is an interesting com-

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 75-6. According to one tradition Baragarh was captured by Raja Bidhi Singh, A.D. 1672—88.

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 69, 72.

mentary on the undoubtedly Tibetan origin of the Malana people in the Upper Parbati Valley, who claim to be the disciples and incarnations of Jamlu."

These numerous Tibetan settlements, says Mr. Howell,[1] represented the advanced posts of Tibetan influence flanking the ancient trade route from Ladakh and Tibet Proper to Rampur-Bashahr. This ancient trade route was discovered by Mr. Howell a few years ago, and his account of it is here given *in extenso*: "The position of Kulu, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chamba, in which an ancient Rajput line has been able to maintain an unbroken rule, from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulu and Lahul lie full in a channel, through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms. The people have acknowledged many masters, Aryan and Mongolian, but through all the changes, the Indian markets have always demanded salt, wool and borax, not to speak of the more precious merchandise of Central Asia; and while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lahul. The trade, therefore, went on, and it was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route."

"We must remember that in those days the Bias was nowhere bridged, and everywhere an impassable torrent; that there were no mule roads; that every height was crowned with a fort, garrisoned by marauders; that the Kulu farmers, then as now, regarded travelling sheep as 'fair game'; that there was a custom's barrier below Rahla to the south of the Rohtang Pass, at the canyon still known as the Jagat-Khana (Customs House), where no doubt a foreigner's life was made a burden to him; and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt, before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to any one who can imagine the Kulu people set free from the restraints that the British Raj imposes upon them."

"So the trade from Ladakh avoided the Hamta and Rohtang Passes and the comparatively broad roads which led to destruction in the valleys, and took a safer if more difficult route. Arrived at the summit of the Baralacha Pass, the

[1] Mr. G. C. L. Howell was Assistant Commissioner of Kulu from March 1907 to February 1910.

Tibetans turned their laden sheep to the left and followed down the left bank of the Chandra river. Here was pasturage and to spare of the finest fattening grass in the world, wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning, and there was not the least fear of molestation in an uninhabited and, to the Indian mind, most undesirable region. Past the beautiful Chandra Lake the trade sheep marched and grazed to the plain near Phuti Runi (Split Rock), still known as the Kanawari Plain, corresponding to the modern Patseo in British Lahul. There the middlemen from Kanawar in Bashahr, and perhaps from Kothi Kanawar at the head of the Parbati Valley, met them. The big 50lb. packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked, the big Tibetan sheep were shorn, for a week or more the trading went on, and finally the little Bashahri sheep marched off, while the Tibetan *biangs* or "trade sheep" returned with their packs to Rudok or Leh. But the Kanawaris had no thought of moving through Kulu. They went up the valley which is now blocked by the Shigri Glacier; across the head of the Parbati Valley, and along the old mountain sheep route, which is still known though seldom used,—always through uninhabited safety to the Satluj at Rampur. There they met, and let us hope were a match for, the wily traders of the plains."

"In 1836 the Shigri Glacier, bursting some obstruction on the mountain top, overwhelmed the Chandra Valley, dammed the Chandra river till it rose within a measurable distance of the Kunzam Pass, leading into Spiti, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spiti people had pickets out at the summit of the Pass to give warning, in case the river rose high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losar, the first village in Spiti."

"There are, however, some landmarks on the old road, which was, I suspect, abandoned more gradually than tradition says. The Kanawaris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language, closely allied to the languages of Lahul and Malana, have left their name on the Kanawari Plain, near the modern camping ground of Phati Runi, and the whole Parbati Valley is known to this day as Kothi Kanawari, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their original language, and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as foreigners, and often show markedly Mongolian features. Probably they are the descendants of Kanawaris who gave up trade for farming

generations ago, before the trade road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Pulga to Rampur."

There can be little doubt that the trade road was in use in the time of Sidh-Singh, and that the Tibetan officers, called by the Kulu people "Piti Thakur," held control of the country through which it passed. Their hold must have been strengthened by an invasion of Kulu from Ladakh, about A.D. 1530, during the reign of Tsewang namgyal I, by whom Kulu was subdued and its "Chiefs were made to feel the weight of his arm." It was probably soon after this invasion that the Tibetan officers or petty Chiefs were finally driven out of Kulu by Sidh-Singh, and we hear no more of them.

Mr. Howell relates an interesting incident bearing on the Tibetan occupation :[1] "More than 20 years ago," he says, "a monk came with credentials from Lhassa addressed to the late Thakur Hari-Singh of Lahul, and he also had in his possession an ancient map of Manali and of an old Buddhist monastery which once stood there. He stated that the monks who occupied it had been driven out of the valley in a hurry, and had hidden their library in a cave, which they had closed by concealing the mouth with a pile of logs and sealing it with a curse, calculated to deter the boldest Kulu man from interfering with the logs. When the monk reached Manali he went straight to the pile of logs in front of the Manali temple, and was at once confronted with the curse, making it impossible for him to touch them. The mystery thus remains unsolved. But the incident shows that monastic chronicles confirm the general tradition of a Tibetan occupation, and Tibetan place-names are found at the head of all the valleys—*e.g.*, Solong in Kulu Proper; Pangchi Pass between Rupi and Inner Saraj; Shungchu and Tung in Inner Saraj. The Tibetans, however, seem never to have occupied the lower valleys, and did not like coming below an altitude of 9,000 or 10,000 feet, and never formed any outposts lower than 7,000 or 8,000 feet, and these seem to have been chiefly for the protection of the trade route. Climatic conditions made it impossible for them to live at a lower altitude."

Sidh-Singh died probably in A.D. 1532, and was succeeded by his son, Bahadur-Singh.

Bahadur-Singh, c. A.D. 1532.—Bahadur-Singh completed the subjugation of the Ranas and Thakurs which his

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, page 71. A similar story is told of books being concealed near Rawalsar Lake in Mandi.

father had begun. Waziri-Rupi was still in the possession of Suket and the Thakurs paid tribute. The Raja of Suket at that time was Arjun-Sen who was notorious for his arrogance. When the Thakurs of Waziri Rupi came to him with their tribute, he kept them waiting some days before receiving them, and when at last he came out of his palace he asked them gruffly why the "crows of Rupi" had come, and refused to grant their requests. The Rupi men replied, "Yes, we are crows, and we will fly away to our own forests," so on their way back they decided to offer their allegiance to Bahadur-Singh, and presented themselves before him at Nagar. On seeing them, Bahadur-Singh, more politic than the ruler of Suket, asked, why the "lords of Rupi" had come to him. They replied that formerly they were the subjects of the State, and they desired to become so again. Thus the greater part of Waziri-Rupi was quietly brought under control.[1]

Some of the petty Chiefs, however, held out, and Bahadur-Singh, therefore, advanced into Rupi, and having captured Harkandhi Kothi imprisoned the Thakur. He then went on to Kanawar and killed the Thakur, after which he took possession of his estate. The same fate befell Chung Kothi and its Thakur, and Bahadur-Singh then attacked Kothi Kot-kandhi, and the Thakur of Chanwar came out to receive the Raja, and, on a *jagir* being granted him, he made over the rest of his territory and became subject. Another Thakur in Kothi Kot-kandhi was not so submissive. He resided at Basa, and on Bahadur-Singh's approach refused to go out to meet him and prepared for resistance. He was, however, defeated, and fled, and Kot-kandhi fort was captured and garrisoned with Kulu troops. The Thakur of Basa was afterwards captured and gave in his submission, on which Basa was granted him in *jagir*. But when he returned home he changed his mind, and sent word that he would neither serve nor obey the Raja. Having been captured a second time, some one suggested that his obstinacy was the effect of standing on his native soil. To test this some earth was brought from Basa and spread on the ground, and after being seated he was again asked if he was now willing to submit. He replied: "I will neither obey your commands nor serve you." Thereupon the Raja is said to have remarked, that it was not the Thakur's fault, but that of the soil, for he was disobedient because he stood on his own

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, page 10.

ground.[1] The Thakur was therefore imprisoned, and the earth of Basa was dug up and dispersed to other villages, presumably to destroy its malign influence. Other lands were then granted to the Thakur's family. Bahadur-Singh then fought with the Thakur of Tandi in Bhulan Kothi, killed him and destroyed his fort at Dharmpur, and placed a guard at Jamser.

Thakur Haul resided in Sainsar Kothi, and some of his brotherhood lived at Nalahar. They offered, if a *jagir* was granted them, to seize the Thakur and bring him to the Raja, and also to persuade the people to settle down peaceably. They said that the lower road was unsuitable for an advance, which ought to be made by the Baijahi Pass. On Sainsar being reached a fight took place in which Thakur Haul was killed, and his estate was then brought under the Raja's control, a *jagir* as promised being given to the Thakur's relatives who had betrayed him.

In this way, after subduing the whole of Waziri-Rupi, Bahadur-Singh settled down at Makaraha or Makarsa in Sainsar Kothi, which he rebuilt. It had probably been in ruins from early times.

In the account of his journey through Kulu in August 1820, Mr. William Moorcroft, the traveller, refers to Makarsa, which he identified with Nagar. He was evidently unaware of the existence of the ancient town of the same name opposite Bajaura. He says :[2] " On the 11th, we passed a house, belonging to the Raja, on our right, situated on an eminence, at the foot of which stood the ancient capital of Kulu, named Makarsa. A few houses are all that remain of it, as the removal to Sultanpur took place three centuries ago." Captain Harcourt also states that the old capital of the Rajas at Nagar was termed Makarsa, though he was aware of the existence of Makaraha. Tradition, however, does not support this identification. According to it, Makarsa or Magarsa was not a town, but a tract or district of Kulu, named after the town of *Makaraha* or Makarasa. The name *Makarsa* was applied to the whole of Kulu State from the time of Raja Bahadur-Singh, and the tradition finds expression in the following popular rhyme :—

Rana, Thakur marie keru bhurasa
Makarahar basie, raj banu Makarsa

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[1] A similar story is told of one of the Chamba Ranas. Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 176.

[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 184.

"The Ranas and Thakurs were killed and smashed up. Makarahar was repopulated, and the State became known as Makarsa."[1]

That Nagar, the capital, was also called Makarsa is not improbable. An analogous case is that of Kashmir under Muhammadan rule, when both the country and the capital bore the same name, the old name of the capital—Srinagar—having fallen into disuse. The ancient name was revived only after the valley passed into the hands of the Sikhs. (*Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume II, page 114).

But though Nagar was the capital, Bahadur-Singh resided chiefly at Makaraha, where he built a palace for himself and repeopled the town, and there he died. His immediate successors followed his example down to Raja Jagat-Singh, who transferred the capital to Sultanpur.

The Tibetan records make no mention of the first two capitals of Kulu. The Tinan Chronicle, completed in the time of Bahadur-Singh, speaks of him as residing at Makarsa, and the same is said of his successors, Pratap-Singh and Parbat-Singh. Sultanpur is first mentioned in the reign of Raja Pritam-Singh under the name of Setanpur. It is certain, however, that Nagar was the seat of government before the transfer to Sultanpur, though the Rajas resided chiefly at Makaraha.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell went fully into the question of the identification of Makaraha. He says: "There has been much confusion regarding the site of Makaraha which the Rev. A. H. Francke was able to clear up. The Chronicle of Tinan (Gondla) in Lahul speaks of Bahadur-Singh as residing at Makarsang, and this in the Bunan language of Lahul means "the place of Makar."

"All tradition in Kulu supports the statement of the Chronicle of Tinan and of Hardyal-Singh, that Bahadur-Singh of Kulu rebuilt the ruined town of Makaraha. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Bias near the debouchment of the Hurla Khad, south of Nagar, and easily accessible from Bajaura. As to Moorcroft's identification of Nagar with Makarsa, he only casually looked at the place from the other side of the river, and might quite easily have failed to catch what was said to him, or he was misinformed."

[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 268.

"Bahadur-Singh and his descendants used to like to live there, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built the town. Makaraha was no doubt a convenient place of residence for Bahadur-Singh, during the time that his generals were campaigning in Saraj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sainj Nala was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe and in touch at once with Nagar and with the army in the field."

"Most unfortunately some British official, with unpardonable iconoclasm, used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makaraha to build the bridge over the Bias at Dalasni, which was washed away: as well as some other bridges. But enough remains to show that the place was founded by some civilized dynasty, which had attained to a very high order of art: for the stone work is really very beautiful. It seems probable that one highly advanced civilization was responsible for the beautiful carvings of old Makaraha; of Hât, in its immediate neighbourhood, near Bajaura, and of Nast near Jagat-sukh. At any rate the connection between these carvings is well worthy of the attention of archæologists, and the sites would probably repay excavation."

Having taken up his residence at Makaraha after the conquest of the Parbati Valley, Bahadur-Singh next took in hand the overthrow of the Ranas and Thakurs who still held Saraj. He advanced against Kothi Sainsar, where he was opposed by two or three Thakurs, all of whom were killed and their States occupied. Banogi near Larji was the next to be attacked, and that also fell into his hands. He granted some lands to the relatives of the Thakur, and destroyed the *thana* at Banogi, built by the former rulers, which is called "thana" to this day, and is the house of the present Thakur. Bahadur-Singh then went to Nohanda through Sirikot, and took possession of it after killing the Thakur. Kothi Bunga fell into his hands in the same manner. Kothi Sarchi was the next to be attacked, but the Thakur submitted and received a *jagir*. He then pushed on to Ramgarh and attacked and killed the Thakur of that place, after which the surrounding country fell into his hands. Kothi Chahni followed; all the Thakurs of that place being killed in battle.

In the possession of a Thakur family at Ladhyara, in Kothi Bhalan, is an old document said to have been granted

to the ancestor of the family by Raja Bahadur-Singh, which throws an interesting light on the events of the time, and of which a translation has already been given.[1]

The date of the document is probably Sh. 9 = A. D. 1533, which would place it near the beginning of Bahadur-Singh's reign, and though there is some doubt regarding its genuineness, "there can be no doubt," says Mr. Howell, "that it correctly describes the conquest of part of Lower Saraj." It is in the possession of a lineal descendant of the Thakur, named Hathi, referred to, who still resides at Ladhyara on the family lands, but the family is not respected by the other Thakurs. As the worship of Raghunath (Rama) was not introduced into Kulu till the reign of Raja Jagat-Singh (A.D. 1637—72) the document cannot be accepted as genuine, but there can be little doubt that it correctly describes the manner in which Bahadur-Singh conducted his campaigns.

It is probable that an accession of territory, to which a reference occurs in the Mandi annals, was also made in the later years of Bahadur-Singh. After the conquest of Waziri-Parol, Waziri-Rupi and half of Inner Saraj, there still remained the small kingdom of Lag, on the right bank of the Bias, founded by the descendants of the *parohit* of Raja Parbat-Sen of Suket. It included Waziri Lag-Sari and Lag-Maharaja, from the Phojal Nala to Bajaura, also the tract now called Saraj-Mandi and half of Inner Saraj, as well as the north-west portion of Outer Saraj, and a small part of Chhota-Bangahal. The Mandi records state that Sahib-Sen of that State (*c.* A.D. 1554—1575) combined with Jagat-Singh of Kulu in an invasion of Lag. Jagat-Singh, however, was not a contemporary of Sahib-Sen, whose reign was synchronous with that of Bahadur-Singh and Partap-Singh. On that occasion the portions of Inner and Outer Saraj held by Lag were annexed to Kulu; and Mandi seized the tract now called Saraj-Mandi. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag, probably in the same reigns, Mandi obtained the districts of Sanor and Badar, while Kulu took Pirkot, Madanpur and twelve neighbouring villages. The Lag State then probably became tributary to Kulu.[2]

This is, incidentally, corroborated by a title-deed issued by Bahadur-Singh in A.D. 1559 to Ramapati, the *Rajaguru*

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[1] *Vide* pages 28—9 of Volume I.

[2] *Cf. J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 1, page 8.

of Chamba, granting him a piece of land in *sasan*, or free hold, in the neighbourhood of Hatta or Hat, at the confluence of the Rupareri and Bias rivers near Bajaura. Hat must originally have been in Lag State, and presumably had been annexed to Kulu by Bahadur-Singh.[1]

It is also possible that Sultanpur was founded by Bahadur-Singh, though local tradition assigns its foundation to Sultan-Chand, brother of Jog-Chand, the last Raja of Lag, who was subdued by Jagat-Singh (A.D. 1637—1672). According to one local tradition, Sultanpur was founded by one Sultan-Singh, and Dhalpur, the suburb on the right bank of the Sarvari Nala, by Dhal-Singh.[2]

Now, in the copper-plate referred to, Bahadur-Singh is called "Suratrana Raja," that is, "Sultan Raja," and the fact that this name was actually in use is known traditionally in Kulu. It is therefore possible that Bahadur-Singh was also called "Sultan-Singh," and as Lag was tributary to him he may have conquered or acquired the site, and founded the town of Sultanpur. But, as we know, he resided at Makaraha, and died there.

In S. 35 = A.D. 1559, towards the end of Bahadur Singh's reign, a marriage alliance took place between the royal families of Kulu and Chamba, of which we possess an interesting record in the form of a copper-plate title deed already referred to. This deed was granted by Bahadur-Singh to Ramapati, the *Raja-guru* or spiritual-preceptor of the Chamba Chief, presumably in recognition of his services in negotiating the marriage, to which much importance was evidently attached by the Kulu Raja. The Raja of Chamba of the time was, probably, Ganesh-Varman, and the bridegroom Partap Singh, his son and heir, to whom three Kulu Princesses were married at the same time. The fact of such a marriage need cause no surprise, as it was not an uncommon practice among the Hill Rajputs for two or more sisters to be married at the same time and to the same person.[3]

The title-deed conferred on Ramapati various grants of land and other boons, which were to be enjoyed by him and his offspring "for as long as the moon, the sun, the polar star and the earth shall endure." The descendants

[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1902-03, pages 265-66.

[2] *Ibid*, pages 262-63.

[3] *Ibid*, pages 261—69.

of Ramapati still hold the office of *Raja-guru*, and their family is one of the first in Chamba, but the lands conveyed to their ancestor by the bounty of Bahadur-Singh have long since passed into other hands. The title-deed is dated in the Shastra year 35 = A.D. 1559, which was probably the year of Bahadur-Singh's death, though the vernacular history places that event in A.D. 1569.

Bahadur-Singh was succeeded by *Partap-Singh* (A.D. 1559—1575); *Parbat-Singh* (A.D. 1575—1608); *Prithi-Singh* (A.D. 1608—1635), and *Kalian-Singh* (A.D. 1635—1637), the last named being a brother of the previous Raja. Of the events of these reigns we unfortunately have no records. They synchronized with the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and the early part of Shahjahan's reign.

Though no mention of the Mughals is found in the Chronicle, it is probable that Kulu, like most of the other Hill States, came under Mughal control in Akbar's reign. In this connection reference may be made to the association of Akbar's name with the temple of the god Jamlu in the village of Malana, on the Malana Nala,—a branch of the Parbati river. Briefly told, the story is that a *sadhu*, or religious mendicant, received two pice on his visit to Malana from the treasury of the local deity. On arriving at Delhi the pice were taken from him in name of a poll-tax, and thus found their way into the Imperial treasury. Soon afterwards Akbar, it is said, became afflicted with leprosy, and on inquiry the Brahmans told him that an insult had been offered to Jamlu, and the two pice must be restored if he wished to recover. On search being made in the treasury the two pice were found stuck together, and Akbar was told to take them in person to Malana and restore them to the god. A compromise was made by the Emperor sending them, along with various images in gold and silver of himself and his court, which were presented to Jamlu, and thus his wrath was appeased and Akbar recovered. Every year in Phagun at the annual festival these images are brought out, so that Akbar may do homage to Jamlu. It has even been said that Akbar visited Malana, but this we may safely assume is incorrect.[1]

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[1] Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, pages 98—111, from which it appears that Akbar is now the object of worship, though he originally appeared (by proxy) as a suppliant before the shrine of Jamlu.

The Rajas who followed Bahadur-Singh continued to reside at Makaraha, though Nagar seems to have been regarded as the capital of the State.

Jagat-Singh (A.D. 1637—1672).—Jagat Singh was one of the most notable of the Kulu Chiefs, and during his reign the kingdom was further enlarged and consolidated. For some time after his accession he continued to reside at Makaraha, and from there he directed his conquest of Outer Saraj and the territory on the right bank of the Bias, still under the rule of Lag.

In the beginning of Jagat-Singh's reign an incident occurred which had important political consequences. A Brahman residing at Tippari between Chaman and Jhari was said to have a *patha* (*i.e.*, about three pounds) of pearls. The Raja sent to demand the pearls and met with a refusal. He was on his way to Manikarn, and at Sarsari he again sent to the Brahman for the pearls. Being angry the latter replied that he would produce them on the Raja's return from Manikarn, but on the approach of the royal party he set fire to his house, and perished with all his family. The ruins are still shown. The Raja then went on to Makaraha, and on food being set before him it all turned to worms.[1] This caused much alarm, and a Brahman of reputed piety was sent for from Suket, who came unwillingly. On the matter being laid before him, he told the Raja that it had been revealed to him in a dream that the sin of Brahman-murder could be expiated only by bringing the image of Raghunathji from Oudh,[2] and making a surrender of the kingdom to that deity. On hearing this Jagat-Singh ordered the Brahman, named Damodar, to bring the image. Now Damodar had a *gutka-sidh*, or ball used by devotees, which, on being put in the mouth, made the bearer invisible. He went to Oudh—probably the city of Ajudhya—and lived a long time in the temple waiting for an opportunity to carry off the image. Having at last secured it, he put the *gutka-sidh* in his mouth and at once reached Hardwar. On the theft being discovered, one of the temple attendants, who also had a *gutka-sidh*, started in pursuit, and arrived at Hardwar, where he found Damodar worshipping the image. Being challenged with the theft, he replied that he had not stolen the god, as it was at the latter's own request that he

[1] A similar story is told of Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra to account for his removal from Tira Sujanpur to Alampur.

[2] Probably the city of Ayodhya is indicated, now Ajudhya.

was being taken to Raja Jagat-Singh of Kulu. "If I do not speak the truth," said Damodar, "take the god back if you can." The Oudh Brahman then tried to lift the image, but in vain, while Damodar raised it with one hand. Being satisfied, the Oudh Brahman returned empty-handed, and Damodar brought the image to Makaraha. There Jagat-Singh formally conveyed his realm to the god, by placing the image on the *gaddi*, and henceforth the Rajas of Kulu regarded themselves as only the vice-regents of Raghunath (Rama), and as ruling only in his name. A great feast or *yagya*[1] was also held on the occasion. A similar transfer of the kingdom to a god took place in Mandi about the same time, in the reign of Suraj-Sen, A.D. 1637—64. In this way the curse was removed, and in gratitude Damodar was granted 84 coolie loads of goods and also a temple at Bhuin village with all its rights. Jagat-sukh Kothi was also made *dharmarth*, that is, made over as a religious gift in the name of the god. Jagat-Singh also ordered one rupee and two copper coins to be placed daily before the god, and gave orders that this money was to be put aside and sent every year to Ajudhya.

As we have already seen, the first invasion of Lag probably took place in the reign of Partap-Singh. But although much of the territory was then lost, the Rajas of Lag continued to hold the rest of the State down to the reign of Jagat-Singh. It included the whole of Lag proper; Kodh-Sawar of Chhota-Bangahal; and all the slopes to the Uhl river from the outer Himalaya, the upper part of which is now known as Chuhar—originally a part of Bangahal State.

Jagat-Singh invaded Lag in conjunction with the Raja of Mandi, probably Suraj-Sen. After the conquest Mandi took Chuhar, and all the rest seems to have gone to Kulu. The Lag State was then ruled by two brothers, one of whom, Jai-Chand or Jog-Chand, resided at Dughi-Lag, and the other, Sultan-Chand, at Sultanpur, which, according to tradition, was founded by and named after him. Jagat-Singh invaded Lag, and his advance was made by way of Dhalpur, near Sultanpur, where he attacked Sultan-Chand. The latter was a renowned warrior, and a large cave is still shown on a mountain near Sultanpur, as the favourite hiding-place of the two brothers, when carrying on a guerilla war

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[1] *Skr. yajna*, "a sacrifice."

against Jagat-Singh. At last Sultan-Chand is said to have had his head severed from his body in battle, but it remained in place, and he went on fighting till he reached the *Padhka*,—a kind of pillar in Sultanpur,—where the head fell off and he died.[1] Traditionally, however, Jai or Jog-Chand is said to have been the hero of this incident. However this may be, the second brother was also soon afterwards killed, and the whole territory of Lag was then annexed to Mandi and Kulu as already related, probably about A.D. 1650—55.

Jagat-Singh's attack upon the Lag State is fully corroborated by one of the *farmans* already referred to, addressed to him by Dara Shikoh in the year A.H. 1067 = A.D. 1657.[2] In this document it is stated that Jagat-Singh had taken possession of the State of Jog-Chand after the latter's demise, and carried captive some of his relatives, knowing them to be under the protection of the Emperor. He is enjoined to surrender the tract seized, and "if from obstinacy and imprudence he defers releasing Jog-Chand's grandson and giving up the district, an order will be issued to Raja Rajrup...............Jahangir Quli Beg and the Faujdar of Jammu, that they should go up to the districts of his *Zamindari* and annihilate him." Raja Rajrup was the Raja of Nurpur and son of Raja Jagat-Singh of that State, and not an uncle of Jaswant-Singh of Jodhpur as is stated in the *Sirmur State Gazetteer*; Jahangir Quli Beg may have been the Kiladar of Kangra, who resided in the Kangra Fort.

Jagat-Singh did not comply with the royal command. He had probably heard rumours of the impending conflict between Dara Shikoh and his three brothers, and felt himself safe in disregarding the order.

Having thus subdued the whole of the Upper Kulu Valley, Jagat-Singh transferred the capital from Nagar to Sultanpur, probably about A.D. 1660, and built a palace for himself and a temple for Raghunathji. Thereafter he resided alternately at Sultanpur, Nagar and Thawa—the last-named place being above Nagar. It is now a heap of ruins, and tradition says that Nagar Castle was built with the stones from Thawa.

Makaraha was then abandoned, and probably soon fell into decay. It had enjoyed great prosperity during the

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[1] A similar story is related by the bards of Gugga Chauhan, a deified hero—also called Mundlikh—who is worshipped in the hills.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 268.

reign of Jagat-Singh, who erected a temple there to Rama and deposited in it a Murli (flute) which he had obtained from Ayudhya. The following couplet is also interesting as showing the prosperous condition of the place :—

Makarahar Ajodhyapuri manohem Braj ki rit
Jagat-Singh Maharaj ki Sri Ragho-ji sen prit.

" Makarahar is another Ayodhya and is the counterpart of Braj (tract round Mathura). Maharaja Jagat-Singh is devoted to the illustrious Raghuji (*i.e.*, Rama-Chandra)."[1]

Of the thirteen *farmans* referred to, twelve are addressed to Jagat-Singh between A.D. 1650 and 1658.[2] In them he is called '*Zamindar* of Kulu,' and is only once styled Raja. One of the *farmans* is from Aurangzeb, in which Jagat-Singh is spoken of as " well-established in his royal ways." He sent presents of hawks and falcons to Delhi, and deputed his son as a hostage at the Imperial Court. In the *farman* referred to, Jagat-Singh was asked to join hands with Dhan-Chand Kahluria of Bilaspur, in order to close the roads through the hills against Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, who sought to rejoin his father.[3] The latter had fled to the Panjab, after his defeat by Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh at the battle of Samugarh in A.D. 1658.—*Vide* Bernier's *Voyages*, Volume I, pages 84 *ff*; also Manucci, Volume I, page 271.

An amusing tradition has come down about Jagat-Singh and a Brahman *sadhu*, who lived in a small forest, called Nagar-Jhir forest, near Nagar and Thawa. The Raja went to visit the saint, who changed himself into a tiger ; but not being in the least afraid, Jagat-Singh lifted the tiger off the ground. At this the tiger was pleased, and, patting the Raja, again changed himself into a *sadhu*. He made Jagat-Singh his disciple, and put a garland round his neck, at the same time giving him the god Narsingh to worship. He then added, " You are of the Kshatri caste, so you should have one bird shot every day and cooked and then offered to the god ; after which half is to be given to my disciple, and the other part you should eat yourself." He also said, " Eight of your descendants will reign at Makaraha and the ninth at Pandori ; after that whoever obeys Raghunath the most will be king."

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[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, 1907-08, page 270.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1907-08, page 268.

[3] A similar order was sent to Raja Subhag Parkash of Sirmour and to Raja Rajrup Singh of Nurpur. Cf. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, page 13.

It appears that most of Outer Saraj was still in the possession of Suket and Bashahr, so Jagat-Singh went there with his army and captured the forts of Naraingarh, Sirigarh and Himri, and annexed them to the State. He died soon afterwards, having reigned about 35 years.

Bidhi-Singh (*c.* A.D. 1672).—Jagat-Singh had three sons, Hari-Singh, Bidhi-Singh and Fakir-Singh. Hari-Singh was killed, probably in battle, and Bidhi-Singh succeeded on his father's death. Fakir-Singh went to Delhi probably as a hostage for the State, in accordance with the practice initiated by Akbar.

Bidhi-Singh is said to have extended the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction at the expense of his neighbours. In his reign the Satluj became the State boundary to the south, and some of the small principalities of the Simla Hills—as now known—are said to have been subdued. Towards the north he, about A.D. 1670—80, advanced into Upper Lahul and freed it from Ladakh, to which it, as well as Kulu, had been tributary from A.D. 1125—50. This was probably rendered easy in consequence of the invasion of Ladakh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646-47,[1] which greatly weakened the power of the former State. As we have seen, the main Chandrabhaga Valley, especially on the left bank, from the junction of the two rivers had been under Chamba from early times. Traditions to this effect exist in the valley, and the people of Ghushal say that they owned a copper-plate deed granted by a Chamba Raja, which was lost when the Upper Valley passed under the rule of Kulu, in the time of Bidhi-Singh. Lahul is named in the Chronicle among the places conquered by him, and Thirot, which marks the boundary between Kulu and Chamba at the present time, is specified as coming under the control of Kulu. In one account it is stated that Lahul was transferred to Kulu as dowry with a Chamba princess, but this is improbable, as territory is seldom, if ever, given on such occasions. The conclusion we arrive at is, that Bidhi-Singh invaded Lahul and expelled Ladakh influence from the Upper Valley, and also acquired the main valley down to the present boundary from Chamba, either by conquest or private arrangement.

Bidhi-Singh also annexed the Kothis of Dhaul, Kotkandhi and Baramgarh in Outer Saraj, after taking them from Bashahr. He died in A.D. 1688.

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[1] Cf. Francke, *Western Tibet*, page 104 *et seq.*, Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 94.

Man-Singh (A.D. 1688).—Under Man-Singh the Kulu State reached the zenith of its power. In the early part of his reign he invaded Mandi and conquered the country as far as Drang salt-mines. The *rani* of Mandi, it is said, then fell at his feet and he relinquished his conquests. The Mandi records, however, state that he was defeated and driven back.[1] This event is said to have taken place in the reign of Gur-Sen of Mandi, but it may have been somewhat later. A dagger was presented on this occasion by Man-Singh to the Mandi Raja, which is still preserved in the State Armoury at Mandi.

Man-Singh completed the *taluka* of Outer Saraj, as it now exists, by taking the present Kulu Kothi of Pandrabis from Bashahr, and he built the forts of Pandrabis, Dabkopochka and Tangusta.

About A.D. 1700, Man-Singh again took the field against Mandi in consequence of the invasion of Bangahal. This was an ancient principality with the capital at Bir-Bangahal, and it embraced most of the country along the southern outskirts of the Dhaula Dhar, between Kangra and Kulu, as far south as the Bias. It also included the district of Bara-Bangahal in the head waters of the Ravi, to the north of the Dhaula Dhar. Some time previous to this the most southerly *ilaqas*, containing the salt mines of Guma and Drang, had been seized by Mandi, and Sidh-Sen of that State now cast covetous eyes on the rest of the State, which he sought to add to his dominions by treachery. Prithi-Pal, the Raja of Bangahal, was his son-in-law, and the latter's sister was married to Man-Singh of Kulu.[2]

Prithi-Pal was invited to Mandi on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket, and on his arrival was received with every mark of honour, but a month afterwards he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered. Sidh-Sen then sent an army against Bangahal, but Prithi-Pal's mother, who was still alive, appealed to Man-Singh of Kulu for help. He set out with a force by way of the Sari Pass and captured the fort of Ratnagir. At the end of the campaign Bara-Bangahal and Chhota-Bangahal, except a part of Bir-Bangahal, were also annexed to Kulu. Man-Singh then returned to Sultanpur where he remained for some time, but after an agreement with Ladakh he marched through Lahul, and fixed

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 1, pages 14-15.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 15.

the boundary with that State, probably at the Lingti Plain, where it still is. Being then near the borders of Spiti he invaded the country, and compelled the people to pay tribute, and then returned to Kulu. After that, Spiti seems to have been tributary to Kulu State for some time. His next expedition was towards the south. Passing through Saraj he crossed the Satluj and seized Shangri, which was then held by a Thakur, to whom he assigned a *jagir*, and annexed the country.

He built the fort of Kalgarh, and after making a deduction from the revenue of Shangri for servants, etc., he fixed a payment of Rs. 100 per annum only. He also built forts at Sirikot, Salachani, Ratu, Rararna and Pagi, and took tribute from Kotgarh, Kamharsen and Balsan.

Soon afterwards Mandi invaded Kulu, and Garhchula, Madanpur, Bisturi and Tarapur were attacked. On Man-Singh's advance the invaders retreated and were pursued as far as Guma and Drang, both of which places were occupied. Man-Singh then advanced to Dhangri where he remained till the Mandi Raja came to terms, and presented a large sum of money, on which the country was restored and the Kulu force retired. The Raja built a palace at Ratah village.

Man-Singh's reign came to a tragic end. Having fallen in love with the wife of the Rana of Kamharsen, her husband enticed him across the Satluj to Sirikot, unguarded, where he was set upon by Bashahris and killed. During his rule Kulu had become a powerful State, embracing an area of at least 10,000 square miles. In addition to Kulu proper, it comprised Upper Lahul, Bara and a part of Chhota-Bangahal, while towards the south it extended nearly to Simla[1] and to the town of Mandi.

Raj-Singh (A.D. 1719).—Raj-Singh's reign seems to have been uneventful, for there is practically nothing recorded regarding it. It was about this time that Gobind Singh—the tenth Sikh Guru—visited Kulu, it is said, to ask assistance against the Muhammadans. The Raja seems to have been unfavourably disposed towards the Guru, and treated him inhospitably. On being asked to perform a miracle, the Guru drew out his own beard to a great length, on which the Raja breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard. The Guru was also imprisoned in an iron cage, but he caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all

[1] Shangri State to the east of the Satluj was then Kulu territory.

to Mandi, where he was courteously entertained by Sidh-Sen, the ruler of that State.[1]

Raj-Singh's reign was a short one, and he died about A.D. 1731, and was succeeded by his son, Jai-Singh.

Jai-Singh (A.D. 1731).—During the early part of this reign the Wazir of the State was one Kalu of Diyar, whose descendants still live in Kulu. For some reason unknown, the Raja was displeased with him and expelled him from the country. He retired to Kareti, a village above Kepu on the left bank of the Satluj, and stirred up a revolt. The State officials were seized and thrown from the high rocks of Sewda in Saraj, at a place called Paldhag. On hearing of the revolt, Jai-Singh fled to Lahore, accompanied by 500 men, probably for the purpose of appealing to the Mughal Viceroy. Hearing of this, Shamsher-Sen of Mandi invaded the State and took possession of Chuhar *ilaqa*, which with only one short interval has been Mandi territory ever since. Jai-Singh is said to have been a handsome man, and when in Lahore the Nawab's daughter saw him and wanted to marry him.[2] On her father approaching the Raja on the subject, he became alarmed and fled by night with 50 of his men, leaving the others to take back his property to Kulu.

Jai-Singh did not return to Kulu, and wrote to his brother, Tedhi-Singh, that he had gone on pilgrimage to the holy places. He went to Oudh and lived at Rāmdarbār,[3] devoting himself to the worship of Raghunath till his death.

Tedhi-Singh (A.D. 1742).—On receiving his brother's letter, Tedhi-Singh assumed the government of the State, but many of the people refused to acknowledge him, probably in the expectation that Jai-Singh would return.

About that time a band of wandering Beragis or Hindu ascetics had come to Kulu, and Tedhi-Singh gradually enlisted them in his service as a body-guard, to the number, it is said, of one thousand. Having them entirely under his own control as a band of mercenaries, he decided on a drastic procedure in order to establish his authority. The ringleaders of the opposition were inveigled into the palace on some pretext, and their liquor being drugged, the mercenaries fell upon them and put three hundred and sixty of them to death.

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 99-100.

[2] A similar story is told of Raja Dhiraj-Pal of Basohli. Cf. *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, page 91.

[3] Probably a Rama shrine in Ayudhya.

This crime, however, failed of its object, and only resulted in another outbreak, of a still more serious character, led by a Sanyasi *faqir*, claiming to be Raja Jai-Singh returned from exile. This impostor bore a strong resemblance to the Raja, and had formed a connection with a Hindu dancing girl, who had been with Jai-Singh in Kulu, and had accompanied him in his flight to Lahore. With her assistance he managed to answer questions in such a way as to deceive the people of Saraj and Rupi. The revolt seems to have lasted for some time, till Jai-Singh died, and the men who had been with him to the end, and had burnt his body, returned to Kulu. The impostor was then exposed and killed. Tedhi-Singh was a contemporary of Raja Ghamand-Chand of Kangra, grandfather of Raja Sansar-Chand, and it must have been during his reign that the invasion of Kulu, referred to by Moorcroft, took place. On that occasion the images on the Bajaura temple were mutilated, probably by Muhammadan mercenaries in the pay of the Katoch Chief.[1]

On the decline of Mughal power and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani, the latter, in A.D. 1758, appointed Raja Ghamand-Chand to the office of Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, who also sought to acquire the supremacy over the whole of the Kangra group of States. In this design, however, he was thwarted by the Sikh inroads into the hills, which began soon after 1760: and in the general confusion most of the Hills States recovered their independence.

Tedhi-Singh had no legitimate son, but there were three sons by concubines, named Pritam-Singh, Charan-Singh and Prem-Singh.

Pritam Singh (A.D. 1767).—On his father's death Pritam-Singh was recognized as Raja. Soon after his accession he invaded Mandi and recovered the forts of Deogarh Mastpur, Sari and Amargarh.

Pritam-Singh's reign seems to have been on the whole uneventful and prosperous, but plots were, as we know, being hatched against him, of which he was probably ignorant. In the Chamba archives there exists an agreement in Tankari between Raja Shamsher-Sen of Mandi ; his son, Mian Surma-Sen ; Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra and Raja Raj-Singh of Chamba, to attack Makarsa (Kulu) and seize

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 170.

Bangahal, and divide it equally among them, each taking the portion nearest to his own territory. The document is dated 1 Magh Vik. 1834 = A.D. 1778.[1]

From this it would appear that Bangahal was then in the hands of Kulu, and the three States—Mandi, Kangra, and Chamba—agreed to seize it. Chamba territory then embraced the southern outskirts of the Dhaula Dhar, in the Kangra Valley, as far east as the borders of Bir-Bangahal; and the Pathyar Fort, near Palampur, was garrisoned by Chamba troops. It was easy, therefore, for the Chamba Chief to invade Bir-Bangahal, and this he seems to have done. A letter exists from Pritam-Singh of Kulu to Raj-Singh of Chamba, complaining that Bangahal had been occupied, and asking for its restoration. The Wazir of Kulu, named Bhag-Chand, had also been captured, and his release was asked. This request was not complied with, for another letter, dated in 1878, states that two men—Tulsi-Ram and Jassi-Ram—had become security for the payment of Rs. 15,000 for Bhag-Chand's release. Presumably he was then set at liberty.[2]

At a later date another agreement was entered into against Kulu, between Chamba, Mandi and Kahlur (Bilaspur), to invade and conquer Makarsa (Kulu), and divide the country equally among them. It is dated in A.D. 1786. Nothing seems to have come of this agreement. It was the year in which Sansar-Chand acquired possession of Kangra Fort and assumed the supremacy over the Hill States, and the hill Chiefs were probably too much concerned for their own territories to think of making inroads on one another.

With the acquisition of Kangra Fort,[3] Sansar-Chand was left free to prosecute his ambitious designs, and henceforth for more than twenty years there was no peace in the hills. His grandfather, Ghamand-Chand, had raised a force of 4,000 men—composed chiefly of Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs—drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies, to whom he gave liberal allowances, and Tegh-Chand, his father, continued the same policy. At his accession, Sansar-Chand thus had a force of trained men with which it was hopeless for any of the hill Chiefs to cope. They were all, therefore, forced to submit to his control, pay him tribute, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In 1792

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 69, *c.* 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 69, *c.* 18, 19 and *c.* 27; also page 71, *c.* 39.

[3] *Cf.* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 127.

he invaded Mandi, and seized three districts, one of which, Chuhar, he gave to Kulu, but it was at a later date restored to Mandi.

Kulu does not seem to have been interfered with by Sansar-Chand to the same extent as some of the other States. Its isolated position in the high mountains was probably its protection. Pritam-Singh had a long reign, and was still in power as late as 1801, when he addressed a letter to Raja Jit-Singh of Chamba, promising assistance in a united attack upon Kangra.[1] By that time Sansar-Chand's high-handed treatment of the hill Chiefs had aroused bitter resentment against him, and many of them were ready to assist in his overthrow, but distrust of one another prevented combined action. Pritam-Singh died about A.D. 1806 and was succeeded by his son, Bikrama-Singh.

Bikrama-Singh (A.D. 1806).—In the early part of this reign Mandi invaded the State, and retook the forts of Deogarh, Mastpur and Sari.

Previous to this the Gurkhas had conquered the hill country north-west of Nepal, as far as the Satluj, and Kulu paid tribute to them for Shangri, and to Sansar Chand for Kulu itself. The Gurkhas entertained the hope of conquering the western hills as far as Kashmir, but were for a time kept in check by the Katoch Chief. In 1806, however, the feeling of resentment against Sansar Chand reached a climax in consequence of his attack upon Kahlur (Bilaspur), and a confederacy of all the Hill States as far west as the Ravi was formed against him. Communications were opened with the Gurkha leader, Amar-Singh Thapa, and he agreed to cross the Satluj and invade Kangra. Moorcroft states that the Katoch army had been weakened by the dismissal of old mercenaries, and the engagement of less efficient men on smaller pay.[2] However this may be, Sansar-Chand was defeated and sought refuge in Kangra Fort. After holding out for four years, he in despair asked help from Ranjit-Singh, the cost of which was the loss of the fort and the independence of his kingdom. In this subjection Kulu and all the other Hill States were included. Soon afterwards, probably in 1810, a Sikh force advanced into the Kulu Valley to demand tribute, which was paid to the amount of Rs. 40,000. Three years later a second demand was made, and not being

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 73, c. 51.

[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 129.

complied with, an army under Diwan Mokham-Chand entered the valley by the Dulchi Pass, and the amount of Rs. 50,000 being still refused, the Sikhs plundered the capital and looted the treasury. The Raja fled up the mountains to Bangla village, but ultimately had to pay a much larger sum to free the country from the invaders. The total amount is said to have been three lakhs of rupees, of which one lakh was given as a bribe to Mohkam-Chand.

Bikrama-Singh is said to have ruled for eleven years, and may have died about 1816.

Ajit-Singh (A.D. 1816).—Ajit-Singh was the son of a concubine, but in the absence of a direct heir was acknowledged as Raja, and was installed by the Raja of Mandi acting by deputy. This right had been claimed and exercised for some time by Sansar-Chand as lord-paramount; and though his suzerainty had passed away, he was annoyed that the ceremony of investiture should have been performed by another. He therefore stirred up Kishan-Singh, the Raja's uncle, to dispute the succession. His claim was supported by the *ranis*, but the people disapproved, and Kishan-Singh then fled to Kangra. With the assistance of Sansar-Chand he collected a force and advanced into Kulu. Ajit-Singh was defeated, and fled to Mandi, but returned with a force, and Kishan-Singh was overpowered and made prisoner, with all his men, by the combined Mandi and Kulu army. The Katoch men were stripped naked and left to find their way home over the mountains in this condition. As a reward for his services the Mandi Raja claimed the restoration of two forts and the *ilaqa* of Chuhar, which had been in the possession of Kulu for some time.

Kishan-Singh soon afterwards died, and a boy was put forward by his supporters as his posthumous son, of whom further mention will be made.

Some time in 1816-17 the *ex*-Amir of Kabul, Shah Shuja, passed down through Kulu into British territory. After his flight from Lahore in 1815, he found an asylum in Kashtwar for two years, and on Ranjit-Singh hearing of his whereabouts, and demanding his surrender, he fled over the high ranges into Zanskar, and by the Baralacha and Rotang Passes into Kulu. On learning that Shah Shuja had been allowed to escape, Ranjit-Singh imposed a fine of Rs. 80,000 on Kulu, which was paid. In his diary Shah Shuja says that the Kulu people treated him very inhospitably.

Mr. Moorcroft was the first European to visit Kulu on his way to Ladakh in 1820.[1] On reaching Mandi he was refused permission by the Sikhs to proceed further, and went to Lahore to wait on Ranjit-Singh. Armed with the necessary order he returned by Nadaun and Tira-Sujanpur, where he was the guest of Raja Sansar-Chand. On his further journey he passed through Baijnath and Guma, and over the Bajaura or Dulchi Pass into Kulu. Of the Raja he thus speaks: "The Raja of Kulu, Ajit-Singh, is at present a boy of less than ten years of age, and the affairs of the Raj are administered by the Wazir, Sobha Ram, who appears to be a plain, intelligent man. He complains bitterly of the tyranny and exactions of Ranjit, and, in common with all the hill Chiefs, is desirous of being taken under British protection: he has paid rather dearly for his attachment to us."

Moorcroft also states that in the Nepalese war Kulu was called upon for some co-operation, which was afforded, and the Wazir acting as regent received a present of five thousand rupees. Ranjit-Singh thereupon fined him fifty thousand for accepting the remuneration and for interfering in the war.

For nearly twenty years after Mr. Moorcroft's visit, things seem to have moved on quietly in Kulu; the yearly tribute was duly paid, and there was no excuse for invading the State. In 1839 a force was sent against Mandi under General Ventura, which met with little opposition, and the Raja was captured and sent a prisoner to Amritsar. After Mandi had been subdued a portion of the Sikh army under the Sindhanwala Sirdars was detached for the invasion of Kulu.[2] No opposition was offered, and the force advanced to Sultanpur. For a time friendly relations were kept up by the Sikh leader, and the Raja being unsuspicious was invited to the Sikh head-quarters, and made prisoner. He was then told that he would be set at liberty if he gave up the country, on a promise that he would receive Waziri Parol in *jagir*, and to this he agreed. Ten days later a portion of the Sikh force was told off to take over Saraj, and the Raja was compelled to accompany it, and to order his people to surrender the forts. It is said that the Sikhs treated the Raja with great indignity and want of courtesy, and the report of this treatment aroused strong feelings of anger among his people. With the connivance of the Raja, but unknown

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Volume I, page 125 *et seq.*

[2] Cf. *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 78. The expedition was preliminary to an invasion of Tibet which did not mature.

to the Sikhs, it was determined to attempt a rescue—the lead being taken by Kapuru, the Wazir of Saraj,—the head of a branch of the family of the Wazirs of Diyar. Kapuru or Kapur Singh, Wazir of Saraj, is said to have invited the Sikhs to invade Kulu, out of revenge for an outrage to which he was subjected.[1] Tulsu Negi—the Raja's guardian and special friend—was an enemy of Kapuru's, and a plot was laid to kill him on the occasion of an interview with the Raja. Kapuru, however, became aware of the plot, and on arrival pitched his camp at Dhalpur near Sultanpur. At the appointed time, instead of going himself he attired his servant in his own robes, and seated him in the *palki*. It being customary to fire a salute on such occasions with light guns, one of them was loaded, and the servant being mistaken for his master was shot at and died. Kapuru then fled to Saraj and raised a tumult, or "Dum," and Tulsu had to flee accompanied by the Raja. This incident left much bad feeling, but Kapuru seems to have repented of his act in calling in the Sikhs, when he saw how the Raja was treated by them, and took the lead in the rescue.

The story of the rescue is thus told by Mr. Lyall in the Kangra Settlement Report[2]: "The Sikh force was probably about one thousand strong: it had done its work, and had returned from Outer Saraj by the Basloh Pass. A little way below the fort of Tung, the road—a mere footpath and here very narrow—runs along the brink of a wooded ravine; in these woods the Sarajis lay in ambush and awaited the Sikhs, who were marching along in single file and undisturbed by any feeling of insecurity. When that part of the line which held the Raja came opposite the ambush, a sudden rush was made, a few men were cut down and the Raja was caught up and carried swiftly up the mountain side. At the same time all along the line rocks were rolled down and shots fired from above at the Sikhs, who were seized with a panic and fell back into the fort of Tung. Here they remained two days till they were forced to move out by the failure of their provisions. They were attacked again as they marched down the valley, and made slow progress. At last they struck up the mountain side in Kothi Nohanda, hoping to get supplies and uncommanded ground in the villages above. But they did not know the country, and only got on to a barren, steep, and rugged hill-side, where they could barely keep their

[1] Vide *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VI, No. 2, pages 76, 77, 78.

[2] *Kangra Settlement Report*, page 78.

footing, and did not even find water to drink. The light and active hillmen kept above them wherever they went, knocking over some with rocks, and driving others to fall over the precipices. After a night spent in this way, the miserable remnant were driven down again into the valley, and there induced to give up their arms on the promise that their lives should be spared, but no sooner had they been disarmed when the Sarajis set upon them and massacred them without pity."

The means used to secure a surrender were probably regarded as perfectly legitimate in the circumstances. Four or five low-caste men, dressed as Brahmans, were sent into the Sikh camp, and with their hands on a cow's tail they gave assurances of safety. Such a promise was not regarded as binding, and on the Sikhs surrendering and being disarmed they were killed almost to a man. This happened in the spring of 1840. Meantime Raja Ajit-Singh was conveyed across the Satluj to his small State of Shangri, which was under British protection, and where he knew he would be safe from the Sikhs. There he died in September 1841.

The main Sikh army had remained at Sultanpur, and against it the Kulu people were powerless. An attempt to release the *ranis* from the palace failed, and the Sikhs sent a force into Saraj to avenge the disaster to their arms. The people fled to the mountains, and some villages were burnt and the country plundered, and thereafter it was farmed out to the Raja of Mandi for Rs. 32,000. The rest of the State was placed in charge of a Sikh Kardar who had the management of the revenue. A Sikh force was also retained in the country.

In the autumn of 1841 Ajit-Singh's two *ranis* managed to escape from the palace by a subterranean tunnel, dug under the walls, and they fled to the mountains. On their way to Shangri they heard of the Raja's death and returned to Sultanpur.

On Ajit-Singh's demise Mr. Erskine, the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, made an inquiry as to the succession to the fief of Shangri, and reported in favour of Ranbir-Singh, minor son of Mian Jagar-Singh, first cousin of Ajit-Singh. Mian Jagar-Singh was passed over, owing to his being an imbecile. The Sikhs as well as Ajit-Singh's *ranis* also admitted the claim, as being next in the succession to the Kulu *gaddi*, but before any further steps could be taken the child fell sick and died. Thakur-Singh, a first cousin once

removed of Ajit-Singh, was then selected by the Sikhs and made Raja, with Waziri-Rupi in *jagir*. The fief of Shangri remained in the hands of Jagar-Singh and is still in his family, forming one of the Simla Hill States. Thakur-Singh was invited to Lahore in the reign of Maharaja Sher-Singh, who received him kindly and, it is said, installed him as Raja. It is also said that he was offered the whole country under the burden of a heavy tribute, but being a timid man he declined the responsibility.

By the treaty of 9th March, 1846, after the first Sikh War, the hill country between the Satluj and the Indus was ceded to the British Government, and the portion between the Satluj and the Ravi, including Lahul, finally remained British territory, the rest being sold to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, Kulu being within the ceded territory. Thakur-Singh was confirmed in his *jagir* of Waziri-Rupi with sovereign powers, the remainder of the State, including Lahul, being placed in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, as a portion of the newly formed district of Kangra. At the same time Spiti was disjoined from Ladakh and annexed to Kulu.

On his death in 1852, Thakur Singh was succeeded by his son, Gyan Singh, who was illegitimate, and Government, while continuing the *jagir*, changed his title to Rai and withdrew all political powers, also reserving the right to fell and sell timber in the *jagir*.

As already narrated, Ajit-Singh's claim to the *gaddi* was disputed by his uncle, Kishan-Singh, who at his death left a posthumous son. Shortly before the Mutiny in 1857 a man, calling himself Partab-Singh and claiming to be the posthumous son of Kishan-Singh, appeared in Kulu. Some of the people believed in his claim. On the outbreak of the Mutiny he wrote letters affirming his claim to the Raj of Kulu, and tried to stir up trouble. Thereupon he was arrested by Major Hay, the Assistant Commissioner, and after trial was hanged at Dharmsala. Many of the people, however, believed that he was really Partab-Singh.

Gyan-Singh died in 1869, and the *jagir* passed to his son, Dalip-Singh, on his attaining his majority in 1883. He too enjoyed his possessions only for a few years, and died in 1892. As he left only an illegitimate son, named Megh-Singh, Government continued the *jagir* to him with the title of Rai, but under special restrictions which need not be specified. He resided at Sultanpur, in the palace of his ancestors. He died on 10th May 1921 and was succeeded by his son, Rai Bhagwant Singh.

Lahul State.

Lahul includes the Valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers to their junction, and also the main Chandrabhaga Valley as far as Rauli, seven miles north of Tindi in Chamba territory. The lower portion, from the Chakma or Thirot Nala to Rauli, is called Chamba-Lahul, and the upper portion, as far as the sources of the Chandrabhaga on the Baralacha Pass, is British-Lahul, and was formerly a part of Kulu State. The western part of the high uninhabited plain of Lingti, and the mountain ranges immediately to the north-east of the Baralacha Pass—called Tsarab—which drain into the Indus, is also a part of Kulu but attached to Spiti, though geographically and otherwise closely connected with the countries to the north-east. Lahul is thus situated where the three kingdoms of Kulu, Chamba and Ladakh meet, and from the most ancient times it has been under the control of one or more of these kingdoms.

The people of Lahul are a mixed race ; and linguistic research indicates that in remote times (*c.* B.C. 2,000), the country was inhabited by an aboriginal tribe, in language, and perhaps also in stock, analogous to the Munda-speaking tribes of Bengal and Central India.[1] This tribe must have borrowed, in very early times, from the vocabulary of their Tibetan neighbours on the north-east and east, who must have constantly come in contact with them as nomad graziers, traders, or invaders. Survivors of the same ethnological stock are to be found in the Kanawar Kothi of Rupi Waziri in Kulu, in the isolated village of Malana and in the Bashahr tract on the Satluj. At a later period, Tibetan settlers came in from the north and east—from Rupshu and Ladakh—into the head of the Bhaga Valley, and from Spiti and Tibet into the head of the Chandra Valley near Koksar, where the Tibetan spoken approximates rather to that of Spiti than to that of Ladakh. Aryans and semi-Aryans also came from the west and south, and the Lahulas at the present time are the ultimate product of the amalgamation of these different races. Their peculiar languages, three in number—

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[1] Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, *page* 181 *et seq.*; also *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, page 427 *et seq.*

NOTE.—We are indebted to Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth, I.C.S., late Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, for much valuable assistance in preparing the histories of Lahul and Spiti.

Bunan, Tinan and Manchat,[1]—are found to have strong affinities with the languages of the Munda-speaking tribes, but are not related to the Aryan languages of India, and only in vocabulary related to the Tibetan, which is the vernacular of the Upper Chandra and Bhaga Valleys around Koksar and Kolong, and also the written language in most of the country. It seems probable, therefore, that at a distant time the whole hill tracts, from Kanawar in Bashahr to Lahul, including much of Kulu, were inhabited by tribes related to the Munda-speaking races of Central India.

During the Kulu supremacy a considerable influx of Kulu blood probably entered the veins of the Lahulas, especially in Pattan or Manchat and Chamba-Lahul.

Buddhism seems to have been introduced into Lahul in the eighth century, probably by Padma Sambhava, the famous missionary from Udyana, who, according to an ancient Tibetan book, visited Zahor and Garzha (Mandi and Lahul), and preached the doctrines of Buddha in Tibet. It was then probably that some of the Buddhist shrines in Lahul, such as Triloknath and Guru Ghantal, were founded ; indeed the latter, under the name of Gandhola, is mentioned in the same book among the foundations of Padma Sambhava. Previous to this, snake, demon and phallic worship was the prevalent religion, as in other parts of the hills ; and there can be little doubt that Triloknath was originally a Shiva shrine and place of pilgrimage, as indeed it still is, for Hindus. Lamaism came in at a later time. The Triloknath temple booklet for pilgrims attributes the setting up of the white marble image of Avalokita to the teacher of O-rgyan, that is, Padma Sambhava of Udyana. The Guru Ghantal white marble head is of the same workmanship as the Triloknath image, and both are of the same Boddhisatva.

The first historical mention of Lahul is found in Hiuen Tsiang, who, in the course of his travels in India, between A.D. 629 and 645, visited Kulu. He says that the country of Lo-u-lo lies north of Kiu-lu-to. But though apparently adjacent thereto, Lo-u-lo is stated to be 1800 or 1900 *li* (360 or 380 miles) distant by road from the middle of Kiu-lu-to. This is a gross overestimate, as the first village in Lahul is only 44 miles from the modern town of Sultanpur. Despite this error, however, and whatever its source may be, Lahul is clearly the country referred to here. But the Tibetan Li-yul

[1] Bunan—Bhaga Valley: Tinan—Chandra Valley; Manchat—Chandrabhaga Valley to Thirot.

has also been identified by Rockhill with Khotan.[1] If this is correct Hiuen Tsiang's placing of Lo-u-lo at 1800 or 1900 *li* north of Kulu might be intelligible, though an underestimate. Probably Hiuen Tsiang has confused the two countries of Li-yul (Khotan) and Lo-u-lo (Lahul) in his estimate of distances, admittedly derived from hearsay.

The name of Lahul is used only in Kulu and by Indians, whereas the Lahulas and Tibetans call the country *Garzha.*[2] The origin of the name "Lahul" is uncertain. The Tibetan Lho-yul, "south country" (with reference to Ladakh) and Lhahi-yul, "the country of the gods," have been suggested.[3]

It seems probable that a loose connection with Ladakh may have existed from a remote period. At the same time Lahul was probably more or less under Chamba and Kulu. There are indications in the records of these countries that Chamba may have held the main valley, almost as far up as the junction of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers at Gus, while Kulu had some influence in the Chandra and Bhaga valleys, and, in the wars of those times, the Chamba armies probably advanced by way of the Kukti Pass and Lahul when invading Kulu. At that early time Brahmapura (Brahmaur) was the capital of the Chamba State, which was then confined to the Upper Ravi Valley, the lower valley being still in the possession of local petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs.

In the Kulu annals it is stated that Lahul was conquered from Kulu by Chamba, at a time which we may take to be about A.D. 600, but was recovered in the following reign, after a battle at the foot of the Rotang Pass. These records are largely legendary, yet they tend to confirm the tradition, that Lahul was more or less under Kulu and Chamba in early times.

The real rulers of Lahul at that early period were, no doubt, the ancient petty Chiefs, called Jo—corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs elsewhere—all of whom were of Tibetan origin, and the only symbol of subjection was the yearly tribute. This they may have paid to Ladakh and also to Chamba and Kulu, just as they did at a later period to the two latter States. There were baronial families at Gus or Gushal, Kardong, Darcha, Barbog and elsewhere,

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[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Volume I, page 177.

[2] Francke, A. H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Volume II, page 195.

[3] Cunningham, A., *Ladakh*, page 24.

like the Jagirdar or Thakur families at the present time. Ranas are said to have lived in Loth and other places in the main valley, as they are in Chamba-Lahul at the present day.

Early traditions in Lahul tell of an invasion by a race of foreigners from the north, believed to have been a people from beyond Yarkand, who are said to have held the country for ten or twelve years. Old tombs discovered are thought to belong to that time, during which the Lahulas retired to the high mountain slopes. Captain Harcourt conjectured that this invasion may have taken place in the time of Changez Khan,[1] but it was probably at a much earlier period; or other Turks from Central Asia may be referred to, such as the Ye-tha, who, between A.D. 400 and 500, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Sun Yun, conquered Gandhara and India as far south as Tirhut. Similar traditions exist in Chamba, which was invaded by the same race of people, there also, called Yarkandi, who captured Brahmapura, the former capital, killed the Raja in battle, and held possession of the Upper Ravi Valley for ten or fifteen years. They are said to have been ultimately driven out by a combined force from Suket and Kulu. This must have been about A.D. 780—800.

Early in the tenth century, the later Tibetan kingdom of Ladakh was founded by Skyid Lde nyima gon, great grandson of Langdarma, the king of Lhasa who persecuted the Buddhists, and was in the end assassinated by a Buddhist monk. Being driven out of Central Tibet, Nyima gon fled to Western Tibet, called Ngaris[2] (*Tib.* Mnah-ris) which he conquered. He had three sons among whom he divided his kingdom, but the younger brothers were to be under vassalage to the eldest brother. Lha Chen palgyi gon received Ladakh proper, from the Zoji Pass, north of Kashmir, to Rutog; Trashi gon, the second son, received Purang and Guge in the Upper Satluj Valley; and Lde long gon, the youngest, was given the southern province, including Zangskar, Spiti and Spi-lchogs, of which the last, in Francke's opinion, may be Lahul.

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[1] Harcourt, A. F. P., *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pages 126-27.

[2] Ngaris, or in full in Tibetan, Mnah-ris-skor-gsum, in early times meant all Western Tibet, including Ladakh, etc., but later the term was restricted to the districts of Rutog, Guge and Purang, which are now under the Garpons or Governors of Gartok—*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Volume II, page 93.

Possibly a small portion only of Lahul was under Tibetan rule, as it seems probable that from the tenth or eleventh century at least, if not from a much earlier period as stated, the main Chandrabhaga Valley was included in Chamba territory. Many traditions exist in Lahul pointing to this conclusion, and the people of Gushal, on the left bank, at the junction of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, say they once owned a copper-plate deed granted by a Chamba Raja, which was taken from them when the country was annexed to Kulu.

On the right bank these traditions are not so clear, owing probably to the fact that, being more open to invasion, the tract must often have changed hands. The Chandra Valley we may assume to have been under Kulu, leaving only the Bhaga Valley to Ladakh, and even this does not seem to have remained long in Tibetan hands.

In Lahul, as elsewhere in Tibetan countries, the eleventh century was a period of great religious activity. It was then that the Kargyudpa (Bkah-rgyud-pa) order, which had Tilo, Naro, Marpa and Milaraspa for its early saints, founded new temples, or took over old ones from the earlier sect of Padma Sambhava. Then, too, the famous builder and translator, Rinchen Zang-po (Rin-chen-bzan-po), of Guge, built new temples, with the aid of Kashmiri workmen, as at Gumrang and perhaps Sessu in Lahul ; when the Gozzang (Rgod-tshan) lama of Lahul, celebrated for his magic exploits, and mentioned in three local Tibetan books, lived. Later, in the sixteenth century, the two Red-hat sub-sects, now predominant in Lahul, took the place of the earlier orders. These were the Lho-drugpa (Lho-hbrug-pa) and Drug-pa (Hbrug-pa) sects.

About A.D. 1080—1110[1] Lha-chen-Utpala, king of Ladakh, invaded Kulu, presumably through Lahul, and exacted from the Raja a treaty, in which he promised to pay tribute in *dzos* (half breed yaks) and iron. As there are no *dzos* in Kulu they must have gone from Lahul, which must, therefore, have been a province of Kulu, in part at least. This treaty remained in force till the seventeenth century.

The Ladakh chronicles record another invasion of Kulu, which must have taken place through Lahul, about A.D. 1532—60, probably in the reign of Sidh Singh or Bahadur

[1] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet,* Volume II, page 96.

Singh, and then Tsewang Namgyal is said to have conquered Kulu and with it, apparently, also Lahul. This invasion is referred to in the Chronicles of Kolong in Lahul,[1] and was probably the result of an attempt on the part of the Kulu Chief to throw off the Tibetan hold on the country.

Another account,[2] given by Captain Harcourt, makes Lahul a province of the kingdom of Guge, a country in the Upper Satluj Valley and now in independent Tibet. Recent research has shown that this is incorrect. Guge never held territory in the Chandrabhaga Valley, though Spiti was usually part of the kingdom; and when the country was conquered by Sengge Namgyal, king of Ladakh (*c.* A.D. 1590—1635), Spiti and Zangskar were made over to his youngest son, but there is no mention of Lahul.[3] This is confirmed by the finding of many references in Spiti inscriptions to Sengge Namgyal, but none in Lahul. Moreover, the Jesuit Father, Azendo, who, in 1631, passed through Lahul on his way from Leh to the Panjab plains, definitely states that Lahul, which he calls Garja (*Tib*-Gar-zha), was subject to the kingdom of Kulu.

It is certain also that after the reign of Bahadur Singh (*c.* A.D. 1532—1559), who was master at least of Tinan and possibly of other territory in Lahul, most of Upper Lahul remained under Kulu rule for a long period. The names of the next three Rajas of Kulu occur in a number of inscriptions, decrees and other documents, found in various parts of the country. Up to the present time each of the Rajas—Partap Singh (*c.* A.D. 1559—1575), and Parbat Singh (*c.* A.D. 1575—1608),—has been found mentioned in eleven instances, and Prithi Singh (*c.* A.D. 1608—1635) in eight. In Partap Singh's reign the foremost Chief in Lahul was Troshi-gya-tspo of Barbog. No records of the two successors of Prithi Singh have so far come to light. This suggests an eclipse of Kulu rule in Lahul for the next 35 years or more. It is about these, in the time of Thakur Fath Chand of Kolong, that the Kolong Chronicle states that "the Raja of Tibet got possession of Lahul,"[4] possibly a reference to Deldan Namgyal, whose reign lasted to *c.* A.D. 1645, or even to Galdan Tshewang and the Mongol-Tibetan invasion. This inroad into Lahul certainly suggests that it was then Ladakh territory.

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[1] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Volume II, pages 195—202.
[2] Harcourt, *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, 1871, pages 124 and 113.
[3] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Volume II, page 113.
[4] *Ibid*, page 202.

It was in the sixteenth, or perhaps early seventeenth century, that the Lho-drugpa sect (Lho-brug-pa), with head-quarters in Bhutan, established itself in possession of the main Lahul monasteries, such as Shashur at Kyelang and Gandhola. Lama Deva Gyamtsho (Bde-ba-rgya-mtsho) was the leading person who effected this change, and his image is venerated as that of the second founder of the monasteries. The other Red-hat sub-sect of the Drugpa, whose main monastery in Ladakh is Hemis, also came into Lahul about the same time.

We may note that the reformation of Tsong-kha-pa did not touch Lahul, where the only Gelugpa monastery is a small one at Sessu, belonging to and used by the Yellow-hat monks of Ki in Spiti, as a half-way house for pilgrims to Triloknath. It was the Ladakhi king's support of the Lho-drugpa Chief lama of Bhutan, in his dispute with the Gelugpas, that led to the Mongol invasions, now to be mentioned. Lahul was involved just as much because its lamas were adherents of the unreformed sect, as because it was at the time politically under Ladakh.[1]

About the middle of the seventeenth century, Ladakh was invaded by Central Tibet,[2] then under Mongolia, and being worsted in the struggle, the king, Delegs Namgyal (*c.* A.D. 1645—1680), called in the aid of the Mughals from Kashmir. With their help the invaders were defeated at Basgo and driven back. In Lahul, as well as in Spiti and Zangskar, this invasion is still remembered as that of the Seg-po (Mongols) under Galdan Tshang or Tshewang. During it the Tangyud gompa and some temples at Lhalung in Spiti were burnt. A Mongol detachment is said to have stormed Kolong fort in Lahul, and crossed the Bhaga on the way to Kulu, but to have been all but annihilated near Gondla by avalanches. Human bones are still found on a plain, called Roh-lang-thang, where, according to tradition, this disaster happened. On the retreat of the Mongols the Raja of Kulu, Bidhi Singh (*c.* A.D. 1672), seized the opportunity to bring Upper Lahul entirely under his sway. He also advanced down the main valley and annexed the country from Chamba as far as Thirot, the present boundary. A tradition, recorded in Tibetan at the Triloknath shrine, also runs, that a Kulu Raja reached Triloknath and tried to carry

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[1] Wassels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, pages 113—307.

[2] *Antiquities af Indian Tibet*, Volume II, pages 219-220.

off the idol, but was defeated in the attempt, as the stone became so heavy that it could not be moved.

There is a mark on the right leg of the marble figure, which is said to have resulted from a sword blow by a Kulu soldier at the time. One account states that Manchat was acquired from Chamba as dowry with a Chamba princess. This is improbable, as territory is seldom if ever given on such occasions, and there is no record of such a marriage having taken place.

Bidhi Singh's name is found in Lahul, in documents and inscriptions, more frequently than that of any other Kulu ruler. At least sixteen records bear his name. This confirms what we already know from other sources, as to his supremacy over the whole country.

In the reign of Bidhi Singh's successor, Man Singh (*c.* A.D. 1688—1719), the foremost of the noble families, or 'Jos' of Lahul, that of Barbog, resisted, probably out of loyalty to Ladakh, and was deprived of all power. Bil-chung was the last 'Jo' of Barbog.[1] The other two houses—that of Kolong [2] (from which at this time the junior branch of Gumrang separated), and that of Tinan,[3]—submitted and recovered *jagirs* and also the title of Thakur as in Kulu. The principal Chief at that time was Nono Chogan of Kolong. Though all of Tibetan origin they began under Hindu influence to call themselves Rajputs, and to claim that their ancestors entered Lahul from Bangahal. All except Barbog altered their Chronicles to support this claim. They marry into the Kulu Thakur and even into the Kulu Rajput families, except Barbog and Gumrang who intermarry with the house of the *ex*-kings of Ladakh, residing at Stog, near Leh.

The Tinan Chronicle, that of Gondla in the Chandra Valley, still gives the name "Iron Castle," in Guge in Western Tibet, as the place whence the ancestor of the family came, and his name, Rana-Pal, only half conceals the common Tibetan name of Dpal.

From about A.D. 1670 onwards Ladakhi influence came to an end in Lahul. Then, or soon after, the kings of Kulu and Leh entered into a trade agreement, whereby the former sent each year, through Lahul to Lingti, at least a hundred coolie loads of iron in exchange for sulphur, provided by the

[1] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Volume II, pages 219-220.
[2] *Ibid*, pages 195—210.
[3] *Ibid*, pages 211—218.

latter. The people of Lahul had to buy the iron in Kulu and carry it to Lingti. This exchange lasted till the Sikh occupation of Kulu and Lahul.[1]

About A.D. 1700 Raja Man Singh of Kulu further strengthened his hold on the country by advancing to the north of the Baralacha Pass and fixing the boundary with Ladakh, probably at Lingti, where it still is. He also built the Gondla Fort and married a daughter of the Gondla family. Harcourt mentions an inscription of his time in the Gondla Castle, and his name occurs in a decree relating to the revenue of the Gandhola monastery, but after Bidhi Singh it is surprising how seldom the names of Kulu Rajas occur in inscriptions or decrees.

In the time of Raja Pritam Singh, whose name is found in inscriptions at Gyemur and Lindur (*c.* A.D. 1800) a Lahul contingent assisted in the war with Mandi at Bajaura, where they fought under the banner of Gyephang Lha-the, the spirit of the great peak that looks down the Kulu Valley. An account of this event is to be seen in the Moravian Mission at Kyelang, written both in Pahari and Urdu.

The Chronicles of Ladakh[2] also record a foray into Zangskar made by the people of Kulu and Lahul, who, after devastating and plundering the villages, withdrew. When Mr. Moorcroft passed through Lahul, in 1820, he found four villages in the Chandra Valley still paying tribute to Ladakh. This, however, may have been done simply to preserve the peace of the border and the trade relations. In Moorcroft's time the Kulu revenue headquarters in Lahul were at Tandi, where two officers, a Hakim and Kanungo, or commissioner and accountant, resided. There was also a storehouse, called Kothi, where grain was deposited as revenue. Near Kolong Moorcroft met Dharm Singh, the Thakur of that place, and the principal man in Lahul.[3]

On the subjection and annexation of Kulu by the Sikhs in 1840-41, Lahul also was taken over and ruled by them in the usual extortionate manner, but with the cession of the Doab in 1846, both Kulu and Lahul became British territory, and an era of peace and prosperity began for the country, which has continued down to the present time. The people

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[1] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, pages 22—24.

[2] *Ibid*, page 125.

[3] *Ibid*, pages 201-3-9 and 210.

look more and more to India year by year, and the Thakurs have adopted Hindu customs and connections. Lower Lahul remains under Chamba, and has also shared in the general prosperity. Most of it is under the Rana of Triloknath, whose ancestors have been in possession from time immemorial, possibly long before the Chamba Rajas obtained control over the valley. The family intermarries with Rana families in the Ravi and Bias Valleys.

The Moravian Mission, with its headquarters at Kyelang, founded in 1853, has been in many respects a medium of great material advantage to Lahul. Though German in origin the Mission is international in character, and almost all the missionaries are English or Swiss, while the Mission funds come exclusively from England, where there is an indigenous branch of the Moravian Church. Some of the missionaries have done valuable historical, archæological and linguistic work, especially the late Rev. Dr. A. D. H. Francke, to whom we are indebted for many of the details in this history, and whose second volume of the *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* contains a wealth of original material and commentary, indispensible to the historian of Lahul or any other part of the old Ladakhi empire.

Spiti State.

Spiti contains the whole basin of the Spiti river, including that of its main affluent, the Pin, down almost to its confluence with the Satluj, with an area of about 2,931 square miles.[1] Spiti may also have included at least the Bashahr and Kulu Pandrabis Kothis on the right bank of the Satluj in early times, even if it was not for some time the paramount power in that ill-defined Upper Satluj tract, known as Gugé. Communication from Pin to Outer Saraj, *via* the Bhabeh and Rupin Passes, along the right side of the Satluj, was not difficult, and the modern Rampur-Simla Road was not necessarily the line followed in early times. If this supposition is correct, it confirms the attribution of the Nirmand copper-plate to a Spiti Raja. Spiti has always been inhabited by Tibetans, and the western dialect of the Tibetan language is spoken. It was never a part of Kulu.

In very early times Spiti (pronounced Piti) was probably ruled by a Hindu dynasty of Rajas, bearing the surname or suffix of "Sena.[2]" Captain Harcourt states in his historical notes that coins of this dynasty have been found in the valley, but this has not been verified. In the possession of the Parasuram Temple at Nirmand in Outer Saraj is a copper-plate deed granted by a Raja, Samudra-Sena, and assigned on palæographic grounds to the seventh century.[3] Now this is just about the period when references to Spiti are found in the Kulu annals, and two Rajas of Spiti are mentioned by name bearing the Sena suffix. One of these, named Rajendar-Sen, is said to have invaded Kulu and made it tributary, in the reign of Raja Rudar-Pal, c. A.D. 600—650. Kulu remained tributary to Spiti for two reigns, till Parsidh-Pal gained a victory over Spiti in a battle near the Rotang Pass, and thus secured the freedom of his country. Spiti and Chamba were probably allies in the invasion of Kulu which was made through Lahul, as also in the subsequent war in which Parsidh-Pal was the victor. Spiti must at that period have been possessed of considerable resources, and it seems not improbable that the copper-plate referred to may have been granted by one of the earlier

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[1] Spiti means " the middle country."

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume VII, No. 2, page 145.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 1, pages 5-6. The plate is dated in the year 6 which may be regnal; if a year of the Shastra era it corresponds to A.D. 630. Samudra-Sena calls himself *mahasamanta*, *i.e.*, subject to a paramount power : perhaps Tibet.

Rajas, bearing the name of Samudra-Sena. Soon after the defeat by Parsidh-Pal, Spiti was invaded by the Tibetans, and the pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty was then probably overthrown. In this war Ladakh was aided by Sansar-Pal of Kulu, and he received three villages in Spiti for his assistance, while the sons of Chet-Sen, the Spiti Raja, were assigned a *jagir*.

As already stated, the second Ladakh kingdom was founded (about A.D. 975—1000) by Skyid Ide nyima gon, great-grandson of Langdarma, king of Lhasa; and before his death he divided his dominions among his three sons, the youngest, Lde tsug gon, receiving Zangskar, Lahul and Spiti, in vassalage to his eldest brother at Leh. We read of a king of Ladakh, Byang-Chub-sems-pa, about 1000 A.D., who founded Tabo temple in South Spiti, and must have ruled over Spiti at that time. Fifty years later the Gugé lama-king, Byang-Chub-lod, restored the same temple, and may have ruled over South Spiti. His immediate predecessor, Y-Shes-Od of Toling in Gugé, is also mentioned in Spiti inscriptions. We may therefore conclude that Spiti had been under Tibetan rule from the overthrow of the Hindu dynasty down to that time, and it probably remained a part of Ladakh after the consolidation of that kingdom under Lha Chen Utpala (A.D. 1125—50), who conquered Lahul and Kulu and made them tributary.

It is difficult to follow Spiti history, with the data at our disposal, but it seems clear that Spiti was still under Ladakh in the reign of Jamyang Namgyal (A.D. 1560—90), and probably became independent on the conquest of Ladakh by the Baltis during this reign, but it was recovered by Sengge Namgyal (A.D. 1590—1620), who established his power all over Spiti even to Mani, and his subordinate, Gaga Chering Namgyal, held Dankhar fort.[1] On his death it passed to his youngest son, Dechog Namgyal (A.D. 1620—40), but still under vassalage to Ladakh.[2] In 1623 when the Jesuit d'Andrada visited Tsaparang, South Spiti was probably under the Gugé King, who had his palace at Tsaparang. That king belonged to the second Lde dynasty from Purong. In the reign of Delegs Namgyal, son of Deldan, and grandson of Sengge Namgyal (A.D. 1640—80), there was war between Lhasa and Ladakh, the former being

[1] Francke, *Western Tibet*, pages 92 and 101.

[2] Dechog Namgyal made a grant of rights in the waste in Upper Spiti to Kyi monastery. His grant was made from the Palace of Leh.

assisted by the Mongolians, who had conquered Eastern Tibet.[1] Ladakh appealed to the Mughals in Kashmir for help, and an army was sent which defeated the Tibetans at Basgo, and they retreated as far as the Panggong Lake, but returned on the retirement of the Mughals and imposed terms on Delegs. These included the surrender of Gugé and other provinces, probably including Spiti. Delegs, however, is said to have contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Tibetan Commander and received back Spiti in dowry. This event, if authentic, must have occurred about A.D. 1680, and from this time Spiti was under Ladakh.[2] As a result of the Mughals being called in, the wool-trade of Western Tibet came under the control of Kashmir. Some time after 1680, Spiti was invaded by Raja Man-Singh of Kulu, who exacted tribute, and established a loose authority over the country which still remained under Ladakh. The two forts, the ruins of which may still be seen at Sumdo, at the foot of the Bhabeh and Rupin Passes near the Pin river, are known as the Lyungti Khar (Kulu forts), and may possibly have been built by Raja Man-Singh; but Sir L. Dane thinks they may have been associated with Raja Jagat-Singh. It is probable that tribute was paid both to Ladakh and Kulu, but from its remote and inaccessible situation Spiti was left very much to itself. An official was sent from Leh as Governor, but he generally went away after harvest time and left the administration to be carried on by the Wazir and other hereditary officers, who again were controlled by the headmen (*gadpo*) of groups of villages. The same state of things existed in 1821 when Mr. Trebeck, travelling companion to Mr. Moorcroft, visited Spiti; and, excepting the Khalun or Wazir, affairs are managed in the same manner at the present time.

Spiti seems always to have been at the mercy of its neighbours, especially Ladakh, Bashahr and Kulu. The people are not warlike, and when an invasion occurred, as was frequently the case, they abandoned everything and fled to the higher mountain slopes, where they remained till the invaders retired. Three such invasions are recorded in our documents. The first is referred to in the latter half of the seventeenth century when a foray was made from Ladakh. The usual course was followed at the outset, but the Ladakhis

[1]Tangyud Gompa was burnt by the Mongols under Galdan Chang,—*vide* page 106.

[2]Nyima Namgyal (1680—1720) ruled Spiti as far south as Mani, as shown in an inscription.

settled down in the valley for the winter, and the Spiti men then took counsel among themselves to overcome the invaders by treachery. This they did by making professions of friendship, and then inviting the intruders to a feast. Being numerous they were purposely distributed all through the villages. As *chang* or strong liquor is an invariable accompaniment of all such entertainments, the Ladakhis were soon rendered helpless, and were then attacked and killed. A few fled to Dankhar fort and were cast down the cliffs, and others escaped to the mountains and perished.

Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a raid,[1] which had been made over the Kunzum Pass by a body of armed men from Kulu in 1819, a short time before; evidently sent by the Kulu Wazir, Sobha Ram, and led by a connection of his. Mr. Gerard also states that about A.D. 1776 the fort of Dankhar was held by the Bashahris for two years.

From Mr. Trebeck's account it is clear that, in 1821, Spiti was still under Ladakh, but the people probably paid tribute as blackmail to all the neighbouring States.

After the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras under Zorawar-Singh, Gulab-Singh's ablest general, one Rahim Khan was in 1841 placed in charge of Spiti, and his son-in-law, Ghulam Khan, occupied himself in plundering the monasteries and destroying the idols. On the advance into Eastern Tibet in December of the same year, Ghulam Khan accompanied the force under Zorawar-Singh, and was taken prisoner and conveyed to Lhasa where he was slowly tortured to death. Zorawar-Singh also perished with almost the whole of his army.

After the annexation of Kulu by the Sikhs in 1841, a force was sent into Spiti. As usual the people fled to the uplands on its approach, leaving their houses and monasteries to be plundered. The burnt condition of the mural paintings in the temple of the Pin Monastery is said to have been due to the incendiarism of the Sikhs, but may have been the work of Ghulam Khan. No attempt, however, was made to annex the country which remained a province of Ladakh. In 1846, the whole Alpine Panjab from the Ravi to the Indus, including Ladakh and Spiti, was transferred in perpetual sovereignty to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, but in the same year Spiti was exchanged for other

[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, page 64.

territory and added to Kulu, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Chāng-Thang in Tibet proper. In the autumn of 1846, Sir (then Captain) A. Cunningham and Mr. Vans Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladakh and Eastern Tibet, the mountainous and uninhabited territory to the east of the Baralacha and north of the Parang Passes being attached to Spiti. The boundary runs from west of the Baralacha Pass, crosses the Lingṭi plain, and passes eastward to the south of the Tsomoriri Lake, and thence south to the Satluj, touching Tibet proper on the way. This area is called Tsarab or Tsarab-Lingti. For the first three years after 1846 the collection of the revenue was farmed out, but in the autumn of 1849 Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent most of the winter there and submitted a valuable report which was printed by order of Government. A full description of the country is found in it and in the account of a tour in Spiti by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, in 1864.

CHAPTER XI.

Kutlehr State.

Kutlehr State in later times consisted of two provinces—Chauki and Kutlehr—hence the double name by which the State was generally known. It was situated among the Jaswan hills, and its name and limits are still preserved in the present *taluqa* of Kutlehr in Kangra District. It was the smallest of all the principalities in the Kangra area. Forty generations of Rajas are said to have ruled the State. The progenitor of the family was a Brahman, but on acquiring regal power he was recognized as Rajput. Mr. Barnes states that he came from Sambhal, near Moradabad, but the family records trace his descent from a Raja of Poona.

About the tenth or eleventh century the then head of the family, named Jas-Pal, conquered the *taluqas* of Talhati and Kutlehr, and fixed his capital at Kot-Kutlehr. The two small States of Bhajji and Koti in the Simla Hills are said to have been founded, respectively, by his second son and his grandson. The clan name is Kutlehria.

The extent of territory under their rule varied from time to time, and in the reigns of the early Mughal emperors they held Chauki, Kutlehr, Mankhandi in Nadaun and Talhati, now in Hoshiarpur.

The State is not mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of the time, but the ruling family possess *sanads* granted by the Mughal emperors, addressing them as Rai and recognising their rights as rulers of the tracts named, on payment of tribute and under the condition of military service.

They probably enjoyed tranquil possession of their territory all through the Mughal period, but in later times the aggressions of the neighbouring States reduced their country to the present limits of the Kutlehr *taluqa*.

In 1758 Ghamand-Chand of Kangra was appointed Governor of the hills by Ahmad Shah Durani, and soon afterwards annexed Chauki, the northern province of the State. When Sansar-Chand came into power in 1786, Kutlehr also was seized and the Raja was completely dispossessed, but during the Gurkha invasion all his territory was restored. From 1809 the State was subject to the Sikhs, and in 1825 Ranjit-Singh determined to annex it and laid

siege to the strong fort of Kotwalbah. The defence was conducted by Raja Narain-Pal in person, and for two months the siege made no progress.

A promise was then made of a *jagir* of Rs. 10,000 if the fort was surrendered, and to this the Raja agreed.

During the first Sikh War, Raja Narain-Pal expelled the Sikhs from Kotwalbah, and later, in consideration of his services, he was awarded a life-grant of Rs. 10,000, in addition to the *jagir* of like value, and this was afterwards confirmed to his heirs in perpetuity, subject to a *nazarana* of Rs. 1,188.

He was also allowed three-fourths of the forest income within his *jagir*.

The original *jagir* was in Hoshiarpur, but was afterwards, for the sake of compactness, exchanged for villages in the Kutlehr *taluqa* of Kangra.

Raja Narain-Pal died in 1864, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Ram-Pal. On his demise he was succeeded by his son, Raja Rajendra-Pal. The present head of the family is Raja Brijmohan-Pal, and he is the fifth Viceregal Darbari in Kangra District.

CHAPTER XII.

Bangahal State.

The Bangahal State included Bara-Bangahal, in the Ravi Valley, and all the territory now lying between Kangra and Kulu, called Chota-Bangahal; also in all probability the area between Chota-Bangahal and the Bias river—now in Mandi, and Paprola, Lanodh and Rajjer, now in Kangra,—also originally belonged to Bangahal.

The capital of the State was at Bir in Bir-Bangahal. The early history of the State is unknown, as all records seem to have perished. There is, indeed, a reference in the Kulu Chronicle at an early period, but its authenticity is doubtful.

The founder of the State is said to have been a Brahman, who ranked as Rajput on becoming a Raja, and his descendants are said to have ruled the State for twenty generations previous to Prithi-Pal, who was murdered about 1720.

Allowing twenty-two years to a reign—the usual average—we may assume that the State was founded about A.D. 1200, but it is probable that it came into existence at a much earlier period.

Previous to this, the whole territory was probably under the rule of petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs—as was the case in Kulu, Mandi and Kangra.

A significant proof of the antiquity of the State lies in the fact that, by general consent, Bara-Bangahal, from time immemorial, has never been in the possession of any State but that whose name it bears. Though separated from Chota-Bangahal by the high mountain range of the Dhaula Dhar, and virtually in Chamba territory geographically, it has never belonged to Chamba. Neither is there any evidence of its ever having been under Kulu till quite recent times.

The inhabitants too have nothing in common with the Chamba hillmen, being Kanets of the same race and caste as the people of Chota-Bangahal and the outer hills, with whom they intermarry. The conclusion seems justified, therefore, that Bangahal State was founded at a very early period.

The names of the early Rajas have not come down to us, but their suffix was Pal, and they were of Chandarbansi race. The clan name is Bangahalia.

The peculiar situation of the State and its proximity to its three powerful neighbours—Kangra, Mandi and Kulu—must always have afforded a strong temptation to encroachments, and we find that these began at an early period. In the Suket Chronicle we read that Raja Madan-Sen (c. A.D. 1240) led an army across the Bias—then his boundary—and subdued the Ranas of Drang and Guma—then probably in Bangahal State. When Mandi acquired the territory to the south of the Bias from Suket another invasion took place, in the reign of Sahib-Sen (c. A.D. 1554), and Drang and Guma were annexed. The districts of Chuhar and Kodhsawar, then in Chota-Bangahal, had also passed into the possession of Lag, a small principality in Kulu, afterwards absorbed by that State in the reign of Jagat-Singh.

About A.D. 1637 Suraj-Sen of Mandi sought to extend his border northward and invaded Bangahal. He was opposed and driven back by Jagat-Singh of Kulu, who, as the price of his assistance, seized a portion of the State territory adjoining his own.

Prithi-Pal, c. A.D. 1710.—But the greatest loss sustained by Bangahal was in the reign of Sidh-Sen of Mandi (A.D. 1684—1728). At that time Prithi-Pal was Raja of Bangahal, and son-in-law to Sidh-Sen, while his sister was married to Man-Singh of Kulu. Sidh-Sen cast covetous eyes on his son-in-law's principality and sought to annex it by treachery. On some pretext Prithi-Pal was invited to Mandi. On his arrival he was received with all honour, but within a month he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered. His body was burnt, but his head was buried in front of the palace on a spot now marked by a pillar in the middle of a tank, on which a light is kept burning every night.

Sidh-Sen then sent an army against Bangahal, and Prithi-Pal's mother appealed to Man-Singh of Kulu for help. The Mandi forces were driven back, but Man-Singh annexed a large portion of the State to Kulu. In the end, Mandi gained little by the treacherous deed. The story of Prithi-Pal's tragic death is the subject of a popular ballad.

Raghnath-Pal, c. A.D. 1720.—Prithi-Pal was succeeded by his son, Raghnath-Pal, who on two occasions repelled an invasion by Mandi.

Sidh-Sen attempted to seize Karanpur, but was repulsed, and on a second occasion he penetrated as far as Kotharlu

Gulu, but was again driven back with the assistance of Kulu. At a later time Shamsher-Sen of Mandi, son of Sidh-Sen, seized Karanpur in the absence of Raghnath-Pal, who had gone to appeal to the Mughal Viceroy of the Panjab.

Dalel-Pal, c. A.D. 1735.—Raghnath-Pal died in 1735, and was succeeded by his son Dalel-Pal, who was also successful in defending what remained of his ancestral possessions. A combined attack was made on Bangahal by Mandi, Kulu, Kahlur, Nalagarh, Guler and Jaswan, which was repelled with great loss. The Raja commemorated the victory by erecting mounds of the heads of his foes. One of these is said to exist in the pine forest in Bir and another on the bank of the Pun river. Dalel-Singh died in 1749, and most of the territory, including Bara and Chota-Bangahal, had by that time been taken by Kulu, and Mandi had extended her boundary to her present border.

Man-Pal, c. A.D. 1749.—Man-Pal, the last ruling Chief, succeeded only to the *taluqas* of Lanodh, Paprola and Rajjer, He died on his way to Delhi, where he was going with the object of securing help from the Mughal emperor. In his absence the Rajas of Kangra and Guler seized all that was left of the State—Lanodh and Paprola being attached to Kangra, and the remaining property to Guler.[1]

Man-Pal's widow, with her infant son, Nihal-Pal, sought refuge with Raja Raj-Singh of Chamba, who allowed her a small *jagir*. In 1785 Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra married a daughter of Raja Man-Pal and lent a force to Uchal-Pal, son of Man-Pal, to recover his patrimony from Mandi. In this he was unsuccessful, and soon afterwards the Kulu and Mandi Rajas paid five lakhs of rupees to Sansar-Chand to secure themselves in possession of Bangahal.

Uchal-Pal soon afterwards died leaving three sons and a daughter under Sansar-Chand's protection. The daughter was married to the Raja of Siba. Ram-Pal, eldest son of Uchal-Pal, died childless in 1843. His younger brother, Bahadur-Pal, tried to recover the family patrimony but in vain, and died in 1854, and the main line seems to be now extinct.

The head of a collateral branch resides in Bir-Bangahal in possession of a small estate.

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[1] A letter exists in the Chamba archives recording a compact between Mandi, Kangra and Chamba to attack Makarsa (Kulu) and seize Bangahal (then Kulu territory) and divide it equally among them, dated 1st Magh, Vik. 1834 (A.D. 1778).

CHAPTER XIII.

Bilaspur State.[1]

Bilaspur State is situated in the Lower Satluj Valley in the outer hills, and is divided into two almost equal portions by that river, named *Warla* and *Parla*. It is bounded on the north by Kangra and Mandi, on the west by Hoshiarpur, on the south by Hindur (Nalagarh), and on the east by Baghal and Suket. The Satluj enters the State from Mangal at the village of Kasol, and, traversing it in a tortuous course for 56 miles, leaves the territory at Naila and enters Hoshiarpur District.

The superficial area of the State is 448 square miles, and the population at the census of 1931 was 100,994. It is nearly oblong in shape, and is verdant and fertile, abounding in low hills, forests, grazing lands, rivulets and streams. Wells are thus unnecessary for irrigation purposes. Agriculture is the principal occupation of the people, who are chiefly Kanets.

Seven low hill ranges traverse the territory in various directions, and are named " the seven *dhars*." These are—*dhar* Naina-Devi, *dhar* Kot, *dhar* Tiuni, *dhar* Bandla, *dhar* Jhinjiar, *dhar* Ratanpur, and *dhar* Bahadurpur. From this circumstance the ruler of the State is called " The Lord of seven *dhars*."

The principal *dhar* is that of Naina-Devi, on which is situated Kot-Kahlur, the ancient capital and place of residence of the Rajas for many centuries, and from which the State received its original name. On the highest point is situated the Naina-Devi temple at an altitude of 3,595 feet, and a small town, also named Naina-Devi, stands on the plain below. The fort of Kot-Kahlur is on the north-western end of the range.

The highest peak in the State is on *dhar*-Bahadurpur, at 6,164 feet, on which snow falls in winter.

The present capital is at Bilaspur, from which the State takes its present name, having been transferred from Kot-Kahlur at a comparatively recent date. It stands on

[1]Bilaspur is the chief principality in the Simla group of States, but is now associated with the other Hill States entitled to a salute, and its history is therefore included. Half of the territory is to the west of the Satluj.

a plain on the left bank of the Satluj and overlooking that river. Traditionally the original name of the place was Biasgufa, the word *gufa* meaning " a cave, " from the tradition that Bias-deo is said to have performed religious penance in the cave. From it the town was named Biaspur, which became corrupted to Bilaspur. It is situated 37 miles north-west of Simla.

Mr. Vigne who passed through it in 1835 and again in 1839 thus describes its situation :—"Bilaspur stands about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. The situation is very picturesque : open, cultivated land, comparatively level, extends on both sides of the river. The verdure is of the richest description ; the mountains, bold and elevated, surround the outskirts of the landscape and the noble river sweeps round the angle of the bank on which the town is built with a rapidity that would evince its eagerness for the notoriety it has so long deserved, and has hitherto failed to obtain."

The ruling family of Bilaspur is of the Chandarbansi race, and is descended from the ancient Rajas of Chanderi in Bandelkhand. It is interesting to note that traditionally the three Hill States of Kahlur (Bilaspur), Hindur (Nalagarh) and Chanehni in Jammu, all claim the same origin.

The clan name of the ruling family is Kahlurea, from the name of the original capital, in keeping with common custom in the hills, in accordance with which the State usually took its name from its capital.

The only authority for the history of the State seems to be the *Shashi Bansa Binod,* compiled from ancient records by Kavi Ganesh Singh, and published in 1892. It is in old Hindi verse, and contains many interesting details in addition to the genealogical roll of the Rajas.

The *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Panjab* by Thakur Kahn Singh, Balaurea, also contains a history of the State.

The *Binod* gives a detailed chronological record for each reign from Vik. 754=A.D. 697 down almost to the present time. It is certain, however, that the State was founded at a somewhat later date than that claimed for it in the *Binod.* We know that Suket and Keonthal, which were founded by two brothers, are older than Bilaspur, and this is admitted in the *Binod.* There are unfortunately few chronological data available on which to form a definite conclusion, but we know that Suket was founded not later

than A.D. 770, and there have been 50 Rajas against 44 in Bilaspur. Allowing twenty-two years to a reign we may conclude that the State was founded about A.D. 900. The Rajas of Bilaspur, however, seem to have been a long-lived race, and it is possible that an earlier date should be assigned for the foundation of the State. The dates in the *Binod* seem approximately reliable after A.D. 1300.

In the *Binod* the following couplet occurs, referring to the conquests of Bir-Chand, the founder of Bilaspur State :—

Pahla Baghal jite Kunhiar thakurai,

Beja, Dhami markar, Keonthal pai dai.

"Having conquered Baghal, the chiefships of Kunhiar, Beja and Dhami, an advance was made against Keonthal."

From this it is evident that Suket and Keonthal must be older than Bilaspur.

The other States mentioned belong to the *Barah Thakuraian*, now called Simla Hill States, one of which is Keonthal; originally twelve but now twenty in number, owing to later foundations.

Previous to the foundation of the State, the territory was under the rule of Ranas and Thakurs, as was the condition of things everywhere in the hills before the advent of the Rajas. These diminutive States were at constant feud among themselves, and thus fell an easy prey to superior force. It was in this manner that Bilaspur, and all the larger Hill States of a later time, were founded.

Bir-Chand, c. A.D. 900 —The founder of Bilaspur State was Raja Bir-Chand, a cadet of the Chandel Rajput family, then ruling Chanderi in Bandelkhand. The ruler of the State at that time was Harihar Chand who had five sons, named *Gobind-Chand, Bir-Chand, Gambir-Chand,*[1] *Kabir-Chand* and *Sabir-Chand.* Leaving his ancestral kingdom in the possession of his eldest son, he travelled north, with his other sons and an army, into the Panjab, being supernaturally guided, as the *Binod* states, by the goddess of flame at Jwalamukhi in Kangra. After reaching the hills they conquered a place called Jhandbhari, now in Hoshiarpur, and having built a fort settled there for a time. They then went on to Jwalamukhi to pay their devotions at the shrine. Nadaun being near, a visit was paid to the Raja

[1] Gambir-Chand founded Chanehni State and Kabir-Chand a State in Kumaun.

of Kangra, then resident there. When engaged in the game of tent-pegging during the visit, the youngest of the four brothers, named Sabir-Chand, was thrown from his horse and killed. This was attributed to treachery on the part of the Kangra Raja, and led to an encounter in which he and Harihar-Chand were both killed. Bir-Chand then assumed command of the force and retired to the Satluj Valley, where he conquered a territory from the local rulers and settled on the left bank.

Being guided by some propitious signs to a site for his capital he built a temple to Naina-Devi on one of the seven *dhars*, now called *dhar* Naina-Devi. At the end of the hill he erected a fort called Kot-Kahlur, and founded a town on the plain, called Naina-Devi, as the capital of the new State.

The local petty Chiefs were then attacked and subjected, and an advance was made against the *Barah Thakuraian*, which were all overcome. These were :—Baghal, Kunhiar, Beja, Dhami, Keonthal, Kothar, Jubbal, Baghat, Bajji Mailog, Mangal and Balsan.

Tribute was imposed upon them, and they were also under obligation to render feudal service when summoned, and to attend for the presentation of their *nazars* at the yearly Sairi or Autumn Jalsa in Asuj. The yearly tribute amounted to Rs. 7,800, and, it is said, was paid down to the beginning of British rule in 1815.

With the aid of the Ranas and Thakurs, Bir-Chand invaded Sirmour and annexed a portion of that State and fixed the boundary at Gorakhgarh.

He also took one *pargana* from Hindur, then under older rulers, and fixed his boundary at Manaswal in the Dun. The Satluj was also crossed and a portion of territory annexed on the right bank, called Dhar-kot.

Bir-Chand was followed by a number of Rajas of whom we know only the names. These were, *Udhran-Chand, Jaskarn-Chand, Madanbrahm-Chand, Ahl-Chand, Kahil-Chand, Slar-Chand, Men-Chand, Sen-Chand, Sulkhan-Chand, Kahn-Chand.*

The last of these, being the eleventh in descent from Bir-Chand, conquered Hindur and gave it to his second son, Sujit-Chand, from whom the ruling line of Hindur or Nalagarh is descended.

Kahn-Chand was succeeded by *Ajit-Chand, Gokal-Chand, Udai-Chand, Gen-Chand, Prithvi-Chand* and *Sangar-Chand.* The last had ten sons from whom are descended the Darol, Jhandwal, Sangwal, Ghal, Nanglu, Meghori and Dohkli Mian families, still extant in the State.

Megh-Chand, c. A.D. 1300.—Megh-Chand, the eldest son, succeeded to the *gaddi.* Being of a harsh and tyrannical disposition, the people bore with him for a time, and then turned against him and forced him to leave the State. He retired to Kulu along with some of his servants, and was kindly received by the Raja. One of his kinsmen, called Mal Darol, went to Delhi to lay a complaint before the Sultan, and he sent an order to restore Megh-Chand, with a force in support. The Raja was, therefore, recalled from Kulu and resumed his position after some fighting. On his return the zamindars of Deleg were the first to come forward and present their *nazars.* In consequence of this they enjoy, down to the present time, the special privilege of presenting their *nazars* first at the Sairi Jalsa or Durbar, before even the officials and all other subjects of the State.

For his fidelity Mian Mal Darol was appointed Wazir and a *jagir* was granted to him.

Megh-Chand was followed by his son *Dev-Chand,* and after him came *Alim-Chand* and *Abhisand-Chand,* the latter of whom is said to have ruled in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. It is related of him that being on one occasion on the plains near Anandpur, he happened to fall in with an Amir on his way to Lahore, with a large cavalcade. The butchers in the Amir's army had seized some cattle, and were about to slaughter them for food, when the Raja ordered his men to kill the butchers and rescue the cattle. This was done, and on hearing of it the Amir pursued the Raja's force into the hills, and laid siege to Kot-Kahlur. Being unable to capture it, a strong elephant was brought to burst open the door, and the Raja severed its trunk with a stroke of his sword and killed the Amir, named Tatar Khan, and defeated his army. His son, hearing of his father's death, came with an army pretending friendship, and was invited into the fort. A return visit is always paid on such occasions, and on the Raja and his youngest son, Sundar-Chand, going to the camp to pay this visit they were persuaded to lay aside their arms and were then treacherously killed. The bodies were recovered after some fighting and cremated—the *ranis* becoming *sati.*

Sampuran-Chand, c. A.D. 1380.—Sampuran-Chand succeeded, but had only a short reign. Strong ill-feeling existed between him and his brother, Ratan-Chand, ending in a quarrel in which the Raja was killed.

Ratan-Chand, c. A.D. 1400.—Ratan-Chand was installed and had a long reign. He is said to have been invited to Delhi by the Sultan, whose name is not mentioned, and distinguished himself by killing a tiger at a hunt, for which he received a *khillat* and other honours, in recognition of his bravery. A sword with which he was presented is still preserved.

He had two sons, *Narandar-Chand* and *Mian Mithu*, and was succeeded by the former, but no details have come down regarding his reign nor of those of *Fath-Chand*, *Pahar-Chand*, *Ram-Chand* and *Uttam-Chand*.

Gyan-Chand, c. A.D. 1570.—Gyan-Chand who followed is said to have been a contemporary of Akbar, and we may assume that in his reign or about his time Bilaspur, like all the other Hill States, became subject and tributary to the Mughal Empire. No reference to the State occurs in any of the Muhammadan histories of the time.

Gyan-Chand was of an overbearing nature and his attitude towards the smaller States aroused strong feeling against him. A complaint was made to the Viceroy at Sirhind, who sent a force and had the Raja arrested and brought into his presence. The Viceroy was so impressed with his fine appearance that he persuaded him to embrace Islam and gave his own daughter in marriage. Gyan-Chand had three sons—Bik-Chand, Rama and Bhima,—and the two younger also became Muhammadans, with a large number of the people. The heir-apparent, Bik-Chand, remained in the Hindu faith, and on his father's return fled across the Satluj, with his mother, to a place called Sunhani, where he settled. Later, he went to Kangra where he was kindly welcomed by Raja Triloka-Chand (A.D. 1600—12) and received his daughter in marriage, and took up his residence in a place assigned to him. The *rani*, however, was of a very forceful disposition, and not liking her husband she was at no pains to conceal her feelings. This was keenly resented by him, and through the Wazir of Kangra he had the following question put to her father. "If your shoe pinches what should be done?" To this the Raja answered: "Cut it and make it fit properly." Bik-Chand took the hint

and severely chastised the *rani*, then fearing the consequences, he mounted a swift horse and fled to Kahlur. An army was sent in pursuit, but failed to arrest him, and he settled in his own home at Sunhani, and afterwards made it up with the Raja of Kangra. Gyan-Chand died after a long reign, and was succeeded by Bik-Chand.

Bik-Chand, c. A.D. 1600.—On his accession, probably about A.D. 1600, Bik-Chand went to Kot-Kahlur, perhaps for his installation, leaving his two *ranis*, who were both *enceinte*, at Sunhani. One of these was from Kangra and the other from Baghal. A son was born to the Kangra *rani*, but she delayed in passing on the news to the Raja, and the other *rani's* son, having been born almost at the same time, the news of his birth arrived first. On learning this the Kangra *rani* at once claimed priority for her son, which on full inquiry, was acknowledged, and he was recognised as Tikka or heir-apparent. His name was Sultan-Chand and that of the other Kesab-Chand. Bik-Chand had a long reign, and his sons grew up to manhood with strong feeling existing between them, owing probably to both claiming the *gaddi*.

Sultan-Chand, c. A.D. 1620.—Sultan-Chand was installed as Raja on Bik-Chand's demise ; but a few years later the ill-feeling between the brothers came to a head in a fierce encounter, in which both the young princes were killed. Sultan-Chand left a son named Kalian-Chand who succeeded.

Kalian-Chand, c. A.D. 1630.—Kalian-Chand was a contemporary of Raja Shyam-Sen of Suket (A.D. 1620-50) whose daughter was his chief *rani*. We may, therefore, assume that he came into power about A.D. 1630. He built a fort on the borders of Hindur which caused hostile feeling and ultimately led to war between the two States. The Raja of Hindur was killed, leaving an infant son. Being afraid of harm to the State the *rani* took the bold step of throwing herself on Kalian-Chand's protection, being a near relative, and entrusted the young prince to his care. Kalian-Chand accepted the charge, installed the Raja and acted as his guardian in the management of the State till he came of age.

Towards the end of Kalian-Chand's reign an unfortunate event occurred which brought disaster on himself and the State. Bilaspur and Suket were not on friendly terms, and the Suketi *rani* was jealous for her father's honour. While she and the Raja were one day engaged in playing a game

of chess, a hill bard was heard singing Kalian-Chand's praises, in the course of which he was called "the lord of seven *dhars.*" On being told the names of these *dhars* the *rani* remarked that one of them was her father's. This so enraged the Raja that he struck her on the head with the chess board and drew blood. The *rani* then sent a letter to her father, written in blood, to warn him of coming trouble. War broke out soon afterwards, and, in a battle that was fought at Mahadeo, Kalian-Chand's horse was shot under him. On asking a horse from a Sanghwal Mian, a kinsman of his own, his request was refused, and he was overtaken and mortally wounded, and died on the way to Bilaspur. The spot is still called *Kalian-Chand ki dwári.* The Suketi *rani* became *sati.* On account of the disloyal action of their ancestor, no member of the Sanghwal family, to this day, is permitted the use of a horse from the State.

Tara-Chand, c. A.D. 1645.—Kalian-Chand had eight sons of whom Tara-Chand was the oldest. Tara-Chand succeeded, but was of a weak and timid disposition and paid little attention to State affairs. As a result inroads were made into the country, and much territory was lost to neighbouring States. The tributary States also ceased to give attendance and present their *nazars.* Taragarh fort in Hindur, now demolished, was built by him.

Dip-Chand, c. A.D. 1650.—Dip-Chand succeeded about A.D. 1650, and did much to restore the prestige of the State. The residence of the ruling family had continued to be at Sunhani, from the time of Bik-Chand. Dip-Chand conceived a strong dislike to the place, and determined on making a change. Accompanied by four faqirs, his advisers—two Hindu and two Muhammadan—he, therefore, sought a new site for the capital, and finally fixed upon a place on the left bank of the Satluj, traditionally called Biasgufa. There he erected a palace, called Dholar, overlooking the river, and founded a town on the river bank, and called it Biaspur, now Bilaspur. He then settled the people in the town according to their various castes and occupations in life. A temple, called Deomati, had been built by a former Raja, and it became the family temple, or *Kulaj*, of the Bilaspur ruling family. The date given in the *Binod* for this event is A.D. 1654.

The Raja had two *ranis*, Kunkam-Devi from Kulu and Jalal-Devi from Mandi, of whom the former bore a daughter and the latter two sons, named Bhim-Chand and Dhan-Chand

Most of the territory lost in the previous reign was recovered, and the small Ranas of the *Thakuraian*, who had broken away from the State control, were reduced to subjection.

A difficulty arose regarding the use of the *Jaidea*, as the Mians, or royal kinsmen, claimed it on an equality with the Raja. Dip-Chand passed an order that in future the *Jaidea* should be offered only to the Raja, and *Jai* to the Mians. As a refusal to obey involved the loss of their *jagirs*, all the Mians agreed to comply. At the same time the salutation of *Ram-Ram* was fixed for the Ranas.

Dip-Chand is said to have been sent on an expedition to the north-west frontier with his contingent by Aurangzeb, and so distinguished himself that on his return he received a present of five lakhs of rupees.

About A.D. 1656 the Sikhs, then rising into power, invaded Bilaspur and reduced it to submission.

Soon afterwards the Raja went on a visit to Nadaun where he was welcomed by the Raja of Kangra, with all honour, but, at the dinner, poison was put into his dish, and, though warned by one of his servants, he ate of the food and died.

Bhim-Chand, c. A.D. 1667.—Dip-Chand's death was a serious loss to the State, as his son was only a child. Manak-Chand, brother of the late Raja, was appointed Wazir, but proved tyrannical and imprisoned the old officials. On hearing this, Jalal-Devi, the queen-mother, had him expelled from the State and released the officials.

Manak-Chand went to the Raja of Kangra and tried to persuade him to invade Kahlur and annex the State. He, however, declined without the permission of the Mughal Viceroy at Sirhind. They, therefore, both went to Sirhind, and by misrepresentation induced the Viceroy to send an army to invade Kahlur. Bhim-Chand, who was then 14 years old, sent to Hindur and the *Barah Thakuraian* for help and repelled the invasion.

Bhim-Chand was then called upon for help by his relative, the Raja of Kulu, whose territory was invaded by Bashahr. He advanced as far as Nirmand, capturing several forts and expelling the invaders, and restored the lost territory to Kulu

At a later time in Bhim-Chand's reign[1] there were other wars with the Sikhs who were then beginning to find their

[1] Khazan-Singh, 1914, *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion.*

way into the hills. Guru Gobind-Singh in his early years resided much in the outer hills, bordering on the plains, and rendered assistance to the Hill Chiefs in resisting the exactions of the Mughal governors of Kangra fort. As they gained power, however, they began to encroach on the Hill States, causing apprehension among the Rajas, that they might be expelled from their territories. In A.D. 1682 Guru Gobind-Singh was in Bilaspur State, and trouble arose between him and Bhim-Chand, in which the latter was defeated and lost many men. This defeat rankled in the Raja's mind, and in 1685 he leagued himself with Guler, Kangra and other States, and again attacked the Sikhs, but again fared badly at their hands.

In 1700 a dispute again occurred, and Raja Bhim-Chand and Alam-Chand of Kangra attacked the Sikhs, only to be completely routed. Not content even then, an attack was made on Anandpur with a large army, but they failed to take it and were dispersed. Yet after all these encounters the Guru, in 1701, concluded peace with Bhim-Chand once more, though he had been the leader of the confederacy against the Sikhs.

The Chronicle then records an incident in the family which had sad consequences. Dip-Chand left two widow *ranis*—of whom Jalal-Devi was Bhim-Chand's mother, and Kunkam-Devi had one daughter. Some of the officials, for some reason, sought to stir up bad feeling between them, and fabricated a report that Jalal-Devi wanted to arrange the marriage of Kunkam Devi's daughter to her brother—the Raja of Mandi,—and that Bhim-Chand had expressed his approval. Kunkam-Devi was opposed to the marriage, and, not knowing that it was a false statement, she set fire to her house and she and her daughter perished in the flames. Both the Raja and Jalal-Devi were much distressed by this occurrence, and to expiate the sin a temple was built, containing the likeness of the deceased *rani*, and a *sadabrat*[1] appointed, which is still maintained down to the present day.

Bhim-Chand died about A.D. 1712, and was succeeded by his son, Ajmer-Chand.

Ajmer-Chand, c. A.D. 1712 —Ajmer-Chand had a peaceful reign of long duration. He was of a religious temperament and frequented the temples, engaging much in *puja*. One day while thus engaged, he dropped the image on the

[1] *Sadavrat*, meaning alms, *i.e.*, 'free grant of food,' pronounced *sadabrat*.

ground by accident, and in expiation for this act, and dread of the consequences, he subjected himself to corporal punishment and a fine of Rs. 50,000, which was given to the poor.

He married in Garhwal, Sirmour and the *Thakuraian*, and had seven sons, of whom the eldest was Devi-Chand. He built a fort called Ajmergarh on the borders of Hindur, and died in A.D. 1741.

Devi-Chand, c. A.D. 1741.—Soon after his accession a revolt took place in Hindur, and Raja Man-Chand and his son were both killed. The people then approached Devi-Chand and invited him to take over the State. This, however, he declined to do, and installed Gaje-Singh Hindurea, a member of the Hindur ruling family, as Raja, and from him are descended the present Rajas of Nalagarh.

At a later date Abhai-Chand of Jaswan invaded Kangra, and Devi-Chand went to the help of Raja Ghamand-Chand. This must have been later than 1751. At a still later time Abhai-Chand of Jaswan was expelled by his brother, Jagrup Chand, and Devi-Chand restored him to his State.

He also recovered the State territory that had been annexed by the Mughals, and when the Nawab of Jalandhar, Adina Beg Khan, showed displeasure, the Raja sent his Wazir to arrange the matter, in which he was successful.

During Devi-Chand's reign the State prospered so much that the *chungi*[1] dues in the town amounted to Rs. 20,000, and many people from the plains came and settled in the State.

In A.D. 1762 the Satluj was blocked in Bajji State for forty-two days by a large landslide, and a great part of Bashahr was flooded. To save his State from the flood on the bursting of the dam, the Raja posted men,—each with a gun—a *kos* apart, from Bajji to Rupar, with orders to fire all along the line when the dam burst in order to give warning, and no damage was done to life or property within the State.

Devi-Chand built the fort of Dhawaikot, and gave the Ramgarh fort to Bijai-Singh of Hindur.

In his reign a Bhat Brahman, named Jangar, came from Benares, with whom the Raja became friendly and granted him a village, still in the possession of the family.

Mahan-Chand, A.D 1778.—Devi-Chand was married to a Katoch princess, and late in life had a son, named Mahan-Chand, born in A.D. 1772, who was six years old at the time

[1] *Chungi*=octroi.

of his father's death. Mahan-Chand being a minor the administration remained in the hands of Ramu of the Darol family and other officers, in association with the *rani*.

The last of the Mughal Kiladars still held the Kangra Fort, and in 1781 it was beseiged by the Sikhs under Jai-Singh Kanheya, along with Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra. Saif Ali Khan had appealed to the *rani* of Bilaspur for help which was readily given, owing probably to encroachments on the State by the Kangra Chief. In March 1783 Forster, the traveller, passed through Bilaspur, in the disguise of a Muhammadan merchant, on his way from Nahan to Jammu and Kashmir. He tells us little of Bilaspur itself, but his reference to the siege, and the part the *rani* was playing, is of much interest. He states that the Bilaspur camp, through which he passed, consisted of "about 800 horses and 8,000 footmen, armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill in a deep state of confusion and filth." Of the *rani's* part in the war he thus writes :—"Unable himself (Kiladar of Kangra Fort) to repel the enemy, the Mahometan solicited the aid of the Bilaspur *rani*, who, with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she had already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village in Kangra, the Chief of which now asserts that the *rani*, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized, under colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power."[1]

The fort was surrendered to the Sikhs soon afterwards, and came into Sansar-Chand's hands in 1786, and he did not forget to repay in kind the part the *rani* had played in the war, and the trouble she had given him.

Ramun, the Wazir, died in 1785, and on the withdrawal of his conciliatory influence some differences arose between the *rani* and the other officials. She called in Bairagi Ram, who had formerly been Wazir of Mandi, and appointed him to the vacant post. He, however, only made matters worse by committing the old officials to prison and oppressing the people, so they rose against him and killed him. Zorawar-Chand, younger brother of Raja Devi-Chand, was then appointed Wazir and held office till Mahan-Chand came of age.

On obtaining full power the Raja showed no interest in State affairs, and spent his time in sensual pleasures and low

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[1] In the Chamba archives there is a letter in Tankari from the *rani* of Bilaspur to Raja Raj Singh, asking his help and protection for her infant son, Mahan-Chand. It is dated 24 *Pau*, S. 58 = A.D. 1782.

company. This alienated from him the loyalty of his subjects and brought disaster upon the State. Raja Sansar-Chand, in 1795, invaded the territory on the right bank of the Satluj and occupied Chauki Hatwat. Being unable to oppose him alone, the *rani* sent to Dharm-Parkash, Raja of Sirmour, offering Rs. 50,000 for assistance, and an army came in response. Fighting ensued in which the Kahlur forces were defeated and Dharm-Parkash was killed. Sansar-Chand then occupied all the territory on the right bank and built a fort on *dhar* Jhanjar. The *rani* probably died soon afterwards.

These losses made no impression on Mahan-Chand, who continued to spend his time as before, refusing to listen to his officials. Seeing this the Ranas of the *Barah Thakuraian* renounced their allegiance in 1793, and Raja Ram-Chand of Nalagarh, his own kinsman, forsook him and allied himself with Sansar-Chand. He also annexed the portion of Kahlur territory adjoining his own State. Mahan-Chand at last became alarmed and sent to the Sikh Sardars, Gurdit-Singh and Desa-Singh, residing at Anandpur, for help. They came, but again defeat followed, and the Sardars were killed. The Raja of Hindur (Nalagarh) then invaded the territory, and burnt Bilaspur and captured the Forts of Fathpur, Bahadurpur and Ratanpur. In 1808 the Sikhs annexed Hathawat, Jhanbhari and Dharkot.

In the late years of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas of Nepal were seized with the desire to enlarge their borders, and had conquered the hill tracts as far west as the Satluj by 1803. Their headquarters were at Garhwal. In his great extremity Mahan-Chand turned to them for help, by sending an invitation to Amar-Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kangra. In this he was supported by all the Chiefs of the Kangra States subject to Raja Sansar-Chand, each of whom promised a contingent. This invitation was eagerly accepted, being in full accord with their own designs, and they crossed the Satluj in the end of 1805, and defeated Sansar-Chand's forces at Mahal-Mori. As a result the portion of the State on the right bank annexed by Sansar-Chand was restored, and the Gurkhas laid seige to Kangra Fort. In 1809, when the siege had lasted four years, Sansar-Chand appealed to Ranjit-Singh for help, and he compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj ; but they still continued to occupy Bilaspur and the other States till 1814, when the first Nepalese war began, in consequence of their invasion of British territory. In 1815 they were defeated and driven

across the Jamna, and in the following year they had to evacuate Kumaon and retire to their old border on the Gogra.

When the war began, Government called upon all the Hill Chiefs east of the Satluj and in the *Thakuraian* to send contingents, promising their restoration to their territories on the expulsion of the Gurkhas. Almost all of them gave their support, and were confirmed in possession of their States at the close of the war. The *Sanad* granted to Bilaspur is dated 6th March 1815, confirming to Raja Mahan-Chand the territory on the left bank, while the portion on the right bank, restored by the Gurkhas, was held on condition of allegiance and tribute to the Sikhs, being in Sikh territory. Jhanbhari, annexed by the Sikhs in 1808, was not restored, and is now in Hoshiarpur District.

Mahan-Chand's only son, Kharakh-Chand, was born in A.D. 1813, and the Jyotishi, in drawing out his horoscope, found that he had been born under an unlucky star, and would be the cause of great calamity to the State,—a prediction fully fulfilled. Mahan-Chand was forbidden to see him for twelve years, and the boy was sent to a distant village, called Kalar, to be brought up.

On the expulsion of the Gurkhas the claim of Bilaspur to the suzerainty over the *Barah Thakuraian* was disallowed by Government, and they were brought directly under British control. They had been independent since 1793.

In 1819 the section of the State on the right bank of the Satluj was invaded by a Sikh force under Desa-Singh, Majithia, the Nazim or Governor of the Kangra Hills, assisted by a contingent from Raja Sansar-Chand, and the forts of Pichrota, Nikalgarh and Biholi-Devi were captured. The Sikhs also crossed the Satluj at Bilaspur, but Government then intervened and the force retired. It would appear, however, that from that time, if not earlier, the State had to pay tribute to the Sikhs for the territory on the right bank.

Mr. Moorcroft passed through Bilaspur in March 1820, and has left an interesting reference to the State :—

"The Raja, at first, seemed disinclined to honour us with any particular notice. I had, however, throughout my march, continued to exercise my professional skill and administer medicines to the sick. I had also frequent opportunities of performing the operation for cataract, which is singularly common in the hills. At Bilaspur, during the three

days of our stay, I operated for this complaint upon eighteen cases. The Raja hearing of this, and, being indisposed, condescended to visit me and request my assistance. He was very anxious that I should have remained with him, until the effect of my treatment could be fully ascertained, but this was impossible, as it was necessary for me to secure my progress to Kulu whilst the passes were open. I was, therefore, obliged to decline compliance with his solicitations."

"Bilaspur is not unpicturesquely situated upon the left bank of the Satluj, which is here a rapid stream. The Raja's dwelling, whitened and decorated with flowers in fresco, is neat, but not large. His garden, containing chiefly pear and apricot trees, rose bushes, and beds of narcissus, had been suffered to fall into neglect. The Bazar was in a ruinous state, more than half the shops being deserted. This was ascribed to the town having been twice plundered by the Gurkhas within a few years ; but it appeared that the Raja devoted almost his whole time to his private pleasures, and left the management of public affairs entirely to his officers, by whom the people were pillaged and oppressed. This Raj was formerly of great political importance in the Western Himalaya, and enumerated twelve Thakurs, or feudal chieftains, as subject to its authority. These lordships have now, for the most part, either become independent, or have merged into more recent territorial sub-divisions."

In 1823 Raja Mahan-Chand, at the end of ten years from the birth of his son, yielded to an overpowering desire to see him, and sent for him. As the full period of twelve years had not expired, this action on the part of the Raja was regarded as a bad omen, and his death in the following year (1824), was attributed to his non-compliance with the terms of the warning. He had been Raja for 46 years.

Kharakh-Chand, A.D. 1824—Kharakh-Chand's reign marks the darkest page in the history of Bilaspur. From early youth he seems to have fallen under the baneful influence of evil companions and acquired vicious habits that remained with him during his short life. On coming of age and being invested with full power, he began to fulfil his destiny, as predicted in his horoscope. He took no interest in State affairs, and left the administration entirely in the hands of his officials : spending his time in the pursuit of sensual pleasures, in the company of others like-minded. For some years things seem to have remained quiescent in the State, and when Mr. Vigne passed through Bilaspur, in June 1835, he received

every attention. He remarks :—" I had forwarded a letter to the Raja of Bilaspur who provided me and my people with every necessary, and assigned me quarters in a summer house, standing in the midst of a grove of orange trees, from the edge of which I looked down upon the Sutlej. I had intended to call upon the Raja the next day, but he sent to inform me that he would pay the first visit, so I waited at home. Towards evening, however, he sent an elephant for me, saying that he had forgotten to call, and accompanied by such a pressing invitation that I waived all ceremony and mounted the elephant. The Rajah, a good-looking young man, with a fair complexion, and of middling stature, was sitting outside his palace, a low but spacious, flatroofed, white building on a ' green ' close to the river and below the town."

Mr. Vigne passed through Bilaspur to Suket and Mandi, in 1835, to begin four years of continuous travel in the Western Hills. On his way back he again passed through Bilaspur in March 1839, and found a deplorable change. The State administration was completely disorganised, and civil war was in progress, as the result of long-continued tyranny and oppression. The Bazar was almost deserted and the town half-depopulated, owing to so many of the inhabitants having fled into other States for security. The Raja's chief enjoyment was riding on fighting elephants, of which he kept a great number. When money for his pleasures was required, and the treasury was empty, he seized the property of the officials. The opulent classes were subjected to heavy exactions, and even the *jagirdars*—his own kinsmen—had their *jagirs* confiscated. When the burden became unbearable, the people went to Mian Jagat-Chand, the Raja's uncle, and begged him to help them. The Political Agent was then called from Ambala, and he admonished the Raja, but his advice was disregarded. Finally a revolt occurred, led by the two uncles, one of whom was Jagat-Chand, and fighting continued for some time. This was the condition of things when Mr. Vigne passed through. He was himself treated with great discourtesy, and had difficulty in procuring the necessary transport to resume his journey. Shortly afterwards the Raja contracted smallpox and died.

Jagat-Chand, A.D. 1839.—Kharakh-Chand died childless, and, on hearing of his death, Mian Jagat-Chand came and performed the funeral rites. Notice was sent to the Political Agent at Ambala, and he came at once. He was

informed that there was no direct heir, and none of the widow *ranis* was *enceinte*. It seems that one of the Mians or royal kinsmen, named Mian Changhnian,[1] descended from Suchet-Chand, second son of Raja Ajmer-Chand, was next in the succession, but Jagat-Chand had taken the leading part in their defence against the oppressive rule of Kharakh-Chand, and the people all acclaimed him as Raja. After full inquiry, in the presence of the Rajas of Sirmour and Hindur, the Political Agent reported to Government in favour of Mian Jagat-Chand, and he was duly installed, in April 1839.

Two of Kharakh-Chand's *ranis*, twin sisters, were from Sirmour, and had returned to that State on Jagat-Chand's accession. Some time later, it was given out that the younger *rani* was pregnant, and the fact had been concealed from fear of Jagat-Chand. A son was said to have been born in November of the same year.

Jagat-Chand affirmed that the child was surreptitious.

The *ranis* then returned to Bilaspur with an army, furnished by the Raja of Sirmour, and a force from Suket, to claim the *gaddi*. The officials and army officers of the State deserted Jagat-Chand and went over to the other side, and he had no alternative but to flee to Hindur to save his life. Information was sent to the Political Agent, who came with a force, and, after inquiry, dispersed the party opposed to Jagat-Chand and restored him to power.

Raja Jagat-Chand was descended from Raja Ajmer-Chand (A.D. 1712), through his third son, Mian Chimna. He was of a devotional spirit, and spent much time daily in the performance of the rites of his religion. On his accession he refunded the loan of Rs. 1,20,000 contracted with Nalagarh during the disturbances, and restored peace and prosperity to the State. The amount was subscribed in full by the people of the State, at the rate of Rs. 4 a plough, and the *parganas* of Fathpur, Bahadurpur and Ratanpur, made over as security for the loan to Ram Chand of Nalagarh, were then recovered.

In 1847, on the cession of the Jalandhar Doab to the British Government, after the first Sikh War, Jagat-Chand was confirmed in the possession of the territory on the right bank of the Satluj, which the State had held since 1809 on terms of allegiance and tribute to the Sikhs. The British

[1] This family is now extinct.

Government waived its claim to the tribute, but required the Raja to abolish transit duties in his territory.

Raja Jagat-Chand had only one son, named Narpat-Chand, who died in 1844, leaving a son, named Hira-Chand, nine years of age. As the Raja was now well advanced in years, his chief concern, during the later years of his reign, was to prepare his grandson in every way for the high position he was to fill. When he came of age, in 1850, Jagat-Chand, with the consent of Government, abdicated in his favour, and retired from the State, to spend the rest of his life in Brindaban and other holy places. He died in 1857.

Hira Chand, A.D. 1857.—Raja Hira-Chand was installed by the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, and proved himself a capable ruler. He gave much attention to the provision of tanks and other conveniences at different places of pilgrimage, and had trees planted along the main highways for shade, with arrangements at the stages for the comfort of travellers.

In 1857 effective support in many directions was rendered to Government during the Mutiny, in acknowledgment of which a salute of 11 guns was granted as an honour to the State ; and also a valuable *khillat* and other gifts. In the same year his son, Amar-Chand, was born.

Raja Hira-Chand made a great many changes in the financial department of the State. Till 1863 the land revenue was paid in kind—the State taking one-third of the produce. In that year the Raja reorganised the system, and made the revenue demand payable partly in cash and partly in kind, in certain selected portions of the territory. Mian Bhangi was his Wazir and, though illiterate, was an able and intelligent officer, who rendered great help in many ways in the early years of British rule.

In 1867 a long strip of country called Baseh Bachertu, extending into the heart of Kahlur, and originally State territory, was restored to the State. Some time before the Doab was ceded by the Sikhs in 1846, this tract had been taken possession of by Lehna Singh, son of Desa Singh, Majithia, Nazim or Governor of the Kangra Hills. Having been annexed by the Sikhs it was treated as a part of the Kangra District, but granted in *jagir* to the Raja of Kahlur, subject to land tax, and was finally restored, subject to the payment of a small tribute, equal to the previous amount. The State was thus restored to its ancient limits, except

Jhanbhari, the original nucleus, now in the Hoshiarpur District, which was treated as British territory. In 1871 Lord Mayo, the Viceroy and Governor-General, passed through Bilaspur on his way to Kangra.

Raja Hira-Chand was present at the Proclamation Durbar in January 1877 and received a medal.

In 1882, accompanied by his son, Tika Amar-Chand, he paid a visit to Simla, where he had previously built a residence, for an interview with the Viceroy and the Commissioner, and was taken seriously ill. Medical aid failed to bring relief and, realising his father's dangerous condition, the Tikha Sahib had him removed in a *palki*, but he died at Maholi on the way to Bilaspur.

Amar Chand, A.D. 1883.—Raja Amar-Chand was installed by the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, in January 1883, and had a short reign. In the autumn of the same year Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, passed through Bilaspur on his way to Kangra and Chamba.

Raja Amar-Chand was unfortunate in his administration of the State, owing to the inadequate assistance rendered by his officials. The administration in consequence became very disorganised, resulting in disorder and outbreaks of violence, from discontent at changes made in the tenure of land. Strong measures had to be adopted to suppress these disorders and restore peace. Raja Amar-Chand extended the system of cash payment, in the land revenue demand, initiated by his father, and also abolished *begar*, recovering in lieu a cash rate of 25 per cent., called *bathanga*.

In 1885 a small State force was organised consisting of 40 cavalry and 200 infantry.

In 1886 the old administrative subdivisions of the State were re-arranged, and the old names disused in favour of *tahsils* and *thanas*, as in British territory.

In 1887 Hindi and English schools were opened, and the Forest Department was organised.

In 1888 a suspension bridge was built across the Satluj some way above Bilaspur,—one of the chief events of the reign—and Raja Amar-Chand died towards the end of the same year.

Bajai-Chand, A.D. 1889.—Raja Bajai-Chand was installed in 1889. As he was still a minor, a Council of Regency was formed, and the Raja was sent to the Chiefs

College, Lahore, to complete his education. He was invested with full powers in 1893.

Almost from the first, Raja Bajai-Chand seems to have become discouraged about State affairs. He was desirous of administering the territory on the British model, but received no assistance from his officials in carrying out his plans. He became depressed and dispirited in consequence, and indicated a wish to divest himself of his administrative duties. The Political Officer advised the appointment of a Council, and this was done, but with unsatisfactory results. The services of an experienced officer were then secured from Government, and Lala Hari-Chand was appointed Wazir in 1902. To him the Raja made over the administration of the State, and took his departure to Benares, where he had already caused a house to be built at considerable cost. There he chiefly resided till his death.

In 1903 Mian Amar-Chand was appointed Manager of the State, and carried out many reforms in an efficient manner. The administration had been in an unsatisfactory condition for a long time, and State affairs were in disorder. The Manager entered upon his duties with energy and discretion. In a few years all debts were discharged ; Criminal, Civil and Revenue Courts were established ; a school and hospital were built ; a police force was organised and system introduced into every department of the State. The administration continued to be conducted on the same lines, the Raja residing in Benares, till 1927, when he finally abdicated in favour of his son, Anand-Chand, and died in 1930.

On January 9th, 1933, H. H. Raja Anand-Chand was installed by the Hon'ble Mr. J. A. O. FitzPatrick, Agent to the Governor-General, Panjab States.

Most of the Rajputs in Bilaspur State are Chandias, that is, they belong to different branches of the ruling family. These families are numerous, and all enjoy *jagir* pensions from the State, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 40,000 a year. They are called " the Mian families," and the chief names are :—Ajmerchandia, Kaliyanchandia, Tarachandia, Sultanchandia.

Bilaspur State rendered substantial service to Government during the Great War, which was duly acknowledged.

The political control of the State was transferred from the Panjab Government to the Government of India from 1st November 1921.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATES OF THE CENTRAL GROUP.

Jammu State.

Jammu State seems originally to have included only a small tract in the valleys of the Tawi and the Chinab, in the outer hills, and extending some way into the plains. At the period of its greatest expansion, under the old dynasty in the eighteenth century, it was bounded on the west by the Chinab, on the north by the Dodhera range, separating the Tawi from the Chinab, on the east by the States of Chanehni, Bandhralta, Mankot and Jasrota, and on the south by the plains. Within this area were embraced several subordinate States, ruled chiefly by branches of the Jamwal family in subjection to Jammu. These were Riasi, Bhoti, Samba and Dalpatpur, while Aknur, to the west of the Chinab, seems to have been similarly ruled. Jammu also held suzerainty over all the States in the outer hills to the east, as far as the Ravi, and over Kashtwar and Bhadrawah in the Chinab Valley. The original name of the State was Durgara, and, according to tradition, the capital was at Bahu,[1] where the ancient fort and a small town still exist.

The fort and town of Bahu stand due east of Jammu on the left bank of the Tawi and overlooking that river. The fort still bears an appearance of great strength, and was famous in former times, as we learn from the Muhammadan authors.

It is to be regretted that the material for the history of an ancient State like Jammu should be so scanty and unreliable. Every available source of information has been drawn upon, but with indifferent results, and we can only express the hope that further research may yet bring more material to light.

Of the documents relating to the history of the State, the *Vansavali* of the royal family is the most important; but, unfortunately, it is not available in original, and the only copy forthcoming is a compilation said to have been made in the reign of Maharaja Gulab-Singh, and called the *Gulab-namah.* It may have been compiled from older records, but it contains little more than a long list of names, dating from that of the mythical founder down to the present time, As there is no corroborative evidence for the early portion, it must be received with caution. It contains about 120

[1] Map, Bao.

names, but there are several breaks in the continuity of the line, so that it is difficult to form an estimate as to the foundation of the State. We may, however, safely assume that it is of ancient origin, probably dating from the first century of the Christian era or earlier. Considerable doubt is thrown upon the reliability of the *Vansavali* by the record of long reigns of sixty and seventy years, ascribed to a succession of Rajas.

The History of Jammu State by Thakur Kahan-Singh Balauria, is practically the only other source of information, in addition to references by Muhammadan authors, and to it we are indebted for many details. The author has been at great pains in tracing the origin of the various branches of the Jamwal clan, and in showing their connection with the parent stem.

A reference to the State occurs in Ferishta[1] connected with events which are said to have happened in the first century. Where Ferishta got his information we cannot say, but possibly he had access to old records which are now lost. The account is somewhat confused and not fully reliable ; and yet it may well be a reminiscence of an early invasion of the hills by one of the paramount powers on the plains, which as we know claimed dominion over the hill tracts.

At that early period, it is said, one Raja Ram-Dev Rathor ruled in Kanauj, and among conquests made by him, the Outer Himalaya, from Kumaon to the Jehlam, are said to have been invaded and subdued. After conquering Kumaon he advanced westward as far as Nagarkot, which also submitted, and then he went on to the fort of Jammu. The Raja of Jammu, "confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his fortress, the difficulty of access, the denseness of the jungles and the abundance of his supplies, refused to surrender and came out to battle." But he was unable to make a stand and fled. A force was sent in pursuit and meantime the fort was invested and soon captured. The Raja then came humbly to wait on Ram-Dev, who, after concluding peace and receiving a daughter for his son, penetrated westward as far as the Jehlam and then returned to Kanauj.

That Jammu is an ancient principality seems hardly open to doubt, though it is not referred to by that name in

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[1] Ferishta, *History*, Brigg's trans, Volume I, Introduction. Also Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, Appendix, page 562.

Sanskrit literature or any ancient records. The first historical mention of the State, under the name of Durgara, occurs on two Chamba copper-plate title-deeds of the eleventh century, but referring to events that took place in the early part of the tenth century, proving that the State was then in existence and ruled by its own Chief.[1] Surprise has been felt that no reference to Durgara is to be found in the *Rajatarangini*, in which many Hill States, such as Chamba, Vallapura (Balor), Trigarta (Kangra), and others are mentioned.[2] The explanation seems to be, that the State is referred to under the name of its capital; which was then evidently at Babbapura, now Babor, near the left bank of the Tawi, some 17 miles east of Jammu. Reference to the Hill States by the name of their capital was and still is a common custom, indeed in most cases the State has taken its name from its capital. That Babbapura or Babor was a former capital of Jammu State seems extremely probable. The modern derivation is entirely in analogy with that of other similar place-names in the hills, *e.g.*, Vallapura-Balor ; Brahmapura-Brahmor ; Mangalapura-Manglor. That Babor is an ancient site is attested by the ruins of no less than seven stone temples, one of which bears an inscription in Sarada characters, but so badly defaced as to be illegible. But enough remains to show that the type of Sarada is the same as that of the Baijnath Eulogies, which are dated in Saka 1126=A.D. 1204. We are thus referred to the very period in which, from Kalhana's account, Babbapura must have flourished The situation of the place, its extent and ancient remains, and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbapura. There is every evidence that the town which once stood on the site shared the fate of so many Indian cities at the hands of foreign invaders. Among the coins found on the spot was one of Kalasa of Kashmir, who reigned from A.D. 1063 to 1089. An exploration of the ruins now in progress may throw more light on the subject.

According to the *Vansavali* the town of Jammu also is of ancient origin, but this seems improbable as there are no ancient remains or evidences of antiquity. It may, however. date from about the ninth or tenth century as stated in one record.

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[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, pages 99 and 182 *et seq.*

[2] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, page 403—09.

That Babbapura was the original capital seems doubtful, as Bahu is so regarded by ancient tradition. After the Muhammadan invasions began, both Bahu and Jammu must have been specially open to attack, being so near the plains; and it thus seems not improbable that, for a time, the Rajas withdrew further into the interior of the hills, and fixed their residence at Babbapura, probably in the early part of the eleventh century.

That place is not mentioned by Alberuni (A.D. 1017-1030),[1] and local tradition is indefinite, owing probably to its having been the capital for a comparatively short time. Two and possibly three Chiefs of Babbapura are named in the *Rajatarangini*. First among the hill Chiefs, who visited Srinagar in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, in the reign of Kalasa, the son of Ananta-Deva, is mentioned "Kirti of Babbapura."[2] Sir A. Stein has suggested that possibly this Raja is to be identified with "Kirtiraja, lord of Nilapura," whose daughter, Bhuvanamati, was married to Kalasa. It is, however, impossible to say if Nilapura is synonymous with Babbapura, or if it was the name of another principality, perhaps under the same ruler. Kalhana, the author of the *Rajatarangini*, twice mentions a locality called Bappanila, which looks like a combination of the two names.

At a later period we meet with the name of "Vajradhara of Babbapura"[3] among the five hill princes who, about A.D. 1114, while on a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra, fell in with Bhikshachara, great-grandson of Kalasa, and acknowledged his claim to the throne of Kashmir, which had been usurped by the Lohara princes. At a still later date (A.D. 1118-19), Vajradhara is again referred to as supporting Sussala against Bhikshachara, after having been given an opportunity "to do homage,"[4] presumably to swear allegiance. It has also been surmised that Umadhara,[5] who was in alliance with Harsha, son of Kalasa, in A.D. 1101, was a Chief of Babbapura, but his State is not named. On a reference to the *Vansavali*, or genealogical roll of the Jammu Rajas, we find the names of Kirtidhara and Vajradhara, or Vajraladhara as in the *Vansavali*, just about the period when one would expect to find them, and they are separated by two reigns which may have been very short.

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[1] Alberuni was in India from A.D. 1017 to 1031.
[2] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VII, pages 588 and 582.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, pages 537-541.
[4] *Ibid.*, page 625.
[5] *Ibid*, VII, *v.* 1512.

Further evidence of the great antiquity of the State is furnished by the extensive ramifications of the royal clan. These are ten in number, each of which ruled over a separate principality, *viz.*, Jammu, Jasrota, Samba, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Tirikot, Dalpatpur, Riasi, Aknur and probably Bhau and Bhoti. Some of these, as Riasi, Dalpatpur and Aknur, were probably only fiefs of the parent State, and always dependent upon it, while others enjoyed complete autonomy.[1]

As already mentioned the ancient name of the State was Durgara, as found on two Chamba copper-plate deeds, and of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogra*, in common use at the present time, are derivations. Till the discovery of the copper-plates, several other derivations were assigned for the origin of the name. One of these was *Dugarta* or Dvigarta, that is, " the tract between two rivers,"—*viz.*, the Ravi and Chinab—in analogy with *Trigarta* or Kangra. By some the name was supposed to refer to the two sacred lakes of Saroinsar and Mansar, and the country around them. These derivations of the name must now be regarded as purely fanciful. The name Durgara was probably a tribal designation, like Gurjara, the original of the modern " Gujar." The names *Dugar*[2] and *Dogra* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills between the Ravi and Chinab, but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin, and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu.

The chronology of Jammu State is a blank down to the early part of the tenth century, when it is referred to under the name of Durgara. This reference establishes the fact that the State then existed and was ruled by its own Chief, called the " lord of Durgara." At a considerably later date the references in the *Rajatarangini* to two Rajas of Babbapura, if accepted as applying to Jammu, enable us to fix approximately the subsequent reigns. We may assume that Vajradhara, who was in power in A.D. 1114-18, succeeded about A.D. 1110, and the earliest authentic date after this is that of Raja Parasram-Dev (A.D. 1589). Between these dates twenty Rajas ruled the State, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years. There may have been omissions of names in copying the *Vansavali* which would reduce this average, indeed one such name is found in the *Akbarnamah*. Again, from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1812 there were twelve reigns,

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[1] The Riasi family claim descent from the Ranas of Mewar or Udaipur in Rajputana.

[2] *Dugar*, derived from *Durgara*, is the name of the country. *Dogra*, which would correspond to a Sanskrit form *Daurgara*, indicates the inhabitants.

giving an average of nearly twenty years. These averages are in keeping with those of many other Hill States.

As in other parts of the hills, Jammu State was probably preceded by a long period of government by petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs. The traditions relating to this *Thakuraian* period, as it is called, are less definite to the west than to the east of the Ravi, but in the historical records of most of the States in the Jammu area there are fairly clear evidences of such a political condition. These traditions, however, are least definite in the oldest States, having probably passed into oblivion through lapse of time. The foundation of some of the States is distinctly associated with the conquest of one or more of these petty barons.

There are no references to the Ranas in the Jammu *Vansavali*, but this may be owing to the fact that it is a recent compilation; in the folklore of the people traditions of the ancient polity are common. We may, therefore, assume that for many centuries after Jammu State was founded, the outlying portions, which at a later period became separate and independent States, were under the rule of Ranas and Thakurs, possibly with a loose allegiance to Durgara.

The Dogra royal line trace their descent from Kus, the elder son of Rama, and came originally, it is said, from Ayudhya. Like Chamba and many other royal families of the hills, they belong to the Surajbansi race, and the clan name is *Jamwal.* Probably there was an older designation which has been forgotten.

The Manhas Rajputs,[1] a large agricultural tribe found along the foot of the outer hills, between the Ravi and the Jehlam, claim to be descended from the same ancestor as the Jammu royal clan. The tradition among them is that, from an early period, some of the younger members of the royal clan took to agriculture, and as following the plough is opposed to Rajput sentiment, they thereby became degraded, and are looked down upon by those who adhere to ancient custom. Most of the Manhas, it is said, can trace their descent from Chiefs of the various States, under different offshoots of the Jamwal royal clan. It is improbable that *Jamwal* was the original name of the tribe, as suggested by Sir D. Ibbetson. The name can date only from the time when Jammu became the capital, and it is applied only to the royal clan and its offshoots.

[1] *Punjab Ethnography,* Ibbetson, 1883, para. 455, page 247.

The early history of the State is lost in the mists of the past, and even common tradition is silent. The first Raja, named Agnibaran, is said to have been a brother or kinsman of the Raja of Ayudhya. He came up into the Panjab by way of Nagarkot (Kangra), and after crossing the Ravi settled at Parol near Kathua, opposite to Madhopur in the Gurdaspur District. According to the records, this, if authentic, must have been at a very early period. His son, Vayusrava, added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawi. Four other Rajas followed in succession, and the fifth was Agnigarbh, who had eighteen sons, of whom the two oldest were Bahu-lochan and Jambu-lochan. Bahu-lochan succeeded his father and founded the town and fort of Bahu, on the left bank of the Tawi, opposite Jammu, and made it his capital. In seeking to extend his territories towards the plains he fell in battle with Chandarhas, then Raja of the Panjab (Madradesa), whose capital was probably at Sialkot. The reference is interesting and probably historical. The war with Chandarhas doubtless was the outcome of an attempt on the part of the hill Chief to enlarge the State boundaries towards the plains. Tradition affirms that in former times the territory extended much farther to the south than now, and the Raja of Sialkot would naturally oppose such encroachments on his borders.

Sialkot has been identified with the ancient Sakala,[1] the Sagala of Buddhist literature, which is thus proved to be one of the oldest cities in the Panjab. In very ancient times it was the capital of the Madras, who are known in the later Vedic period, and Sakaladvipa or "the island of Sakala" was the ancient name of the *doab* between the rivers Chandrabhaga (Chenab) and Iravati (Ravi). In somewhat later times (*c.* B.C. 200) Sakala was the capital of the later Græco-Indian kings of the house of Euthydemus, who ruled the Eastern Panjab, and it was the residence of Menander who has been identified with king Milinda, who is known from the Buddhist treatise called "The Questions of Milinda." His date was about B.C. 150. At a still later period Sakala was the capital of Salavahana, whose son, Rasalu, is the great hero of all Panjab tradition; and after the invasion of the Hunas (Huns) in the latter part of the fifth century A.D. it became the capital of Toramana and his son, Mihirakula,

[1] Cunningham identified Sakala—Buddhist Sagala—with Sangala Hill. It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in A.D. 630, but the reference is evidently to Sialkot, of which the ancient name was Sakala. *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume II, page 193.

who ruled over the Panjab and also probably over Kashmir. As Jammu is only thirty miles from Sialkot, and the boundary, even at the present time, is within seven miles of the latter place, it is evident that frequent disputes must have arisen in former times, similar to that referred to in the *Vansavali*.

Jambu-lochan followed and continued the war with Chandarhas, in which the latter was slain. He is then said to have founded the town of Jammu. The story is thus related :—Jambu-lochan on becoming Raja wished to found another town as his capital and name it after himself. With this in view he went out hunting one day accompanied by his officials, and crossing the Tawi he saw in the jungle a deer and a tiger drinking at the same tank. Being surprised at the sight he returned to his tent, and calling his Ministers enquired the meaning of such a strange occurrence. They replied that the explanation lay in the fact, that the soil of the place excelled in virtue, and for that reason no living creature bore enmity against another. The Raja, therefore, came to the conclusion that this was just the kind of site he was in search of, and founded a new town, calling it Jambupura.[1]

The spot on which the tank was found is now called *Purani Mandi*,[2] a locality in Jammu town, where the Rajas on their accession receive the *rajtilak*, or mark of investiture, at the time of installation. The Purani Mandi marks the spot where the palace originally stood, and the Rajas resided for centuries. It is near the small temple of Raghunath (Rama) called "Maharani ka Mandir," founded by the Bandhrali *rani* of Maharaja Ranbir-Singh. A great number of people are daily fed there, and receive each one pice in cash in name of the *rani*. The present Purani Mandi buildings are said to have been erected by Raja Mal-Dev, probably in the fourteenth century. The present palace is modern, and was erected by Maharaja Gulab-Singh.

Jammu has no ancient buildings or remains, nor anything to indicate that it is a place of great antiquity. The temples, which are generally a sure evidence of age, are all modern. The place has a large population, but its prosperity is of recent date. The earliest historical mention of Jammu is in connection with Timur's invasion in A.D. 1398—9. In the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami* (A.D. 1417) a Raja of Jammu

[1] A belief in the influence of the soil on human and animal life is widely prevalent in the hills.

[2] *Mandi* among Rajputs is the name in use for the courtyard in front of the house In Jammu it is the outer court of the Palace where all State business is done.

is referred to and the town is spoken of as then about five hundred years old. We may, therefore, conclude that it was founded about A.D. 900. It is quite possible, however, that Jammu may date from an earlier period, as the legend says ; though it may not have been a place of any importance and did not become the capital till a later time.

From the earliest times, as there is good reason to believe, the capital was at Bahu and the Rajas resided in the strong fort ; and this probably continued to be their residence till they retired to Babbapura after the Muhammadan invasions began, perhaps in the eleventh century.

Jambu-lochan was followed by Purankaran who had two sons, Dayakaran and Dharmkaran. A strange tradition of an occurrence of this time is found in the *Vansavali*. Kashmir is said to have then been in disorder, and Purankaran was appealed to for help. He sent his elder son, Dayakaran, who restored order and became ruler of the country. From him are said to be descended the Bhau Rajputs still existing in Jammu, whose former capital was at Kaleth, near Aknur.

Some generations later we find a note purporting to refer to the time of Raja Sala or Salavahana who ruled the Panjab as far north as Gandhara (Peshawar), and whose capital was at Sialkot. He is said to have invaded Jammu, defeated the Raja, named Shib-Prakash, and destroyed the town.

The Raja of Jammu, being driven from his capital, sought refuge in the inner mountains, where he and his successors are said to have lived for some generations. Jammu was then recovered and the Raja returned. Most probably the reference is to Bahu, which must still have been the capital of the State.

Salavahana was Raja of Sialkot,[1] then called Sakala. probably about B.C. 100. He seems to have belonged to the Yadava family, who may have succeeded the Græco-Indian kings. The first capital of the family, according to Cunningham, was at Gajnipur, now Rawalpindi, from whence they were driven by the inflowing tide of the Indo-Scythian or Saka invasions, when they retired to Sakala. Salavahana is said to have afterwards defeated the Sakas in a great battle, near Multan, and established the Saka Era—B.C. 78—to commemorate his victory. He was succeeded by his son, Rasalu, the famous hero of tradition in the Panjab, who

[1] *Archaeological Survey of India*, Volume II, pages 21-22.

also contended with the Sakas, but on his death his kingdom passed to one Raja Hudi, who was his enemy, and probably a Saka prince.

For long afterwards we find only a list of names, the only event which may have an historical reference being a conflict on the Ravi with a Raja of Nagarkot—probably a border foray—in which the Raja of Jammu was killed. Such a conflict between Jammu and Nagarkot at that early period is a thing not at all improbable. The State boundaries must have been very indefinite, and the tracts between Durgara and Kangra were probably held by Ranas and Thakurs, whose allegiance to either State must have been very uncertain.

For many generations[1] afterwards there is nothing on record but a long list of names which brings us down to the early part of the tenth century—the date of the first historical reference to Durgara. The two Chamba copper-plate deeds, already referred to, are the most important and interesting historical documents we possess in connection with this period of Jammu history. These plates were issued in the middle of the eleventh century by two Rajas, named Soma-Varman and his brother, Asata, who ruled in succession, the first by Soma-Varman alone, and the second conjointly. Their probable date is A.D. 1050—66. Durgara is referred to in both, and the chief historical interest lies in the fact, that they allude to events associated with that State which occurred in the early part of the tenth century.

Sahila-Varman was then Raja of Chamba[2] (*c.* A.D. 910—30), and his country is said to have been invaded by a strong force of foreigners, called "Kira" in the deeds; assisted by the "lord of Durgara and the Saumataka." Who the Kiras were is still a moot question. By some they are supposed to have been Kashmiris, as Kashmir is said to have then claimed paramount power over a large tract of the western hills, and is known from the *Rajatarangini* to have invaded Chamba and other Hill States about A.D. 1050—60. Sir A. Stein, however, regards the Kiras as having probably been a tribe living to the north-east of Kashmir and perhaps in alliance with that country. In any case it is clear that Durgara had been called upon to furnish a contingent, and help was also afforded by the Saumataka or people of Sumata (map Sambarta)—perhaps the original capital of Vallapura

[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Volume I, pages 182 to 197.
[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 76, 77, 78.

or Balor ; called Basohli in later times. The allies of the Chamba Chief were Trigarta (Kangra) and Kuluta (Kulu). The invaders are said to have been completely defeated, for we are told that they were dispersed by the Chamba forces " as if by a frown on the Raja's brow." Possibly the victory was not secured quite so easily, but the hill Chiefs were never slow to take credit to themselves on such occasions.

About one hundred years later the Muhammadan invasions began, and Durgara lay directly in the line of advance of the invading armies. Even at a later period it was still the custom for such armies to advance and retreat along the foot of the hills, crossing the large rivers where this could most easily be done. There is no mention of Durgara or Jammu in the histories of those times, and we may perhaps conclude that previous to this the capital had been moved from Bahu to Babbapura for safety. Jammu, if it then existed, must have been only a small and insignificant place.

That Babbapura was the capital for a time seems highly probable, especially in view of the fact that the names found in the *Rajatarangini* correspond with those in the *Vansavali*. The comparative silence of tradition on the subject would suggest that the transfer lasted only for a limited period. The place was undoubtedly very ancient, and its erection is popularly ascribed to the Pandavas, as is the common custom all over India, in the case of ancient remains, the origin of which is unknown. On the map it is called " Pandu ruins," and it stood on the road through the hills from the plains to Kashmir. Mr. Drew in *Jammu and Kashmir* has the following remarks about Babor :[1] " Within a couple of marches from Jammu to the eastward are three or four places worth noting ; one of these is Babor in the Dansal Dun, near the left bank of the Tawi. There are the ruins of three old Hindu temples, of what age I know not ; the buildings were of great solidity and considerable beauty, the chief feature of one of them was a hall, whose roof was held up by eight fluted columns supporting beams of stone 10 feet in length ; on these beams were laid flatter stones chequerwise so as to fill up the corners of the square as far as the centre of the beams, and to make a new square corner-ways to the other, on this was laid a new set of stones cornerwise to this, and so on till the whole space was covered ; this square mass of stone was ornamented with carving. The material of these buildings is a slightly

[1] Drew, *Jammu* and *Kashmir*, page 7.

calcareous sandstone, which is found among the strata near. It has well stood against weathering, and its toughness may be known from one of the beams of it, used in the construction, being as much as 14 feet in length. No mortar was used in the building: this must have been a predisposing cause of the lateral shifting of some of the stones, one upon the other, the moving cause being, I take it, earthquakes. The other neighbouring ruins have a great resemblance to this first, but they are not all equally ornamented."

It is probable that Mahmud of Ghazni passed near Jammu on more than one of his expeditions, but the place is not mentioned in the histories of his time. Alberuni (Abu Rihan) who was in India in A.D. 1017—31, gives an itinerary of the road from Hardwar to Kashmir through the hills, which was in use in his time, as at a later period, and passed through Babor. Though he names stages not far from Jammu he does not refer to the place itself or the State. These stages were Pinjor to Dahmala (Nurpur), thence to Ballawur (Balor), then to Ladha and the fort of Rajagiri, and then turning to the north the road ran on to Kashmir over the Pir Panjal Pass.[1]

About twenty years later (A.D. 1055), the two copper-plate deeds in which Durgara is mentioned were granted by two Rajas of Chamba. It seems probable that Kashmir had for sometime exercised a suzerainty over many of the States in the outer hills.[2] From the *Rajatarangini* we learn that Raja Ananta-Deva of Kahsmir, A.D. 1028—63, invaded Chamba and "uprooted" the Raja, whose name was Sala or Salavahana, and placed a new ruler on the throne. From the contents of the deed it is plain, that both then and in the previous century, the name *Durgara* was in use for Jammu State, as known by that designation at a later period. We may, therefore, assume that Durgara had been the name of the State from a very early period, though it was also known alternatively by the name of its capital for the time being, in accordance with a practice which as we have seen is still in use.

Kirtidhara, c. A.D. 1070.[3]—About thirty years later, in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, we find in the *Rajatarangini* a reference to an assemblage of eight hill Chiefs at the court of Raja Kalasa of Kashmir, son of Ananta-Deva, among

[1] Alberuni's *India*, Trubner's Oriental Series, 1910, Volume I, page 205.
[2] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, page 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, pages 588—590.

whom is mentioned "Kirti, the ruler of Babbapura." They had evidently come to render homage to Kalasa, as lord-paramount. The prominent position given to Kirti in the list seems to imply that he held a leading place among the hill Chiefs, and we are justified in assuming that the State of Durgara is indicated, the capital of which was then probably at Babbapura or Babor. Evidently Kashmir had not then relaxed its hold on the States of the outer hills, of which Durgara was one.

Kirti or Kirtidhara's name, as we noticed above, also occurs in the *Vansavali*, just about the time one would expect to find it. There can thus be little doubt that he was the Raja of Jammu of the time. We may assume that Kirtidhara reigned from about A.D. 1070 to 1090, and was succeeded by *Ajyadhara* and *Vijayadhara*, the next Rajas according to the *Vansavali*, whose reigns must have been short ; and they were followed by *Vajradhara*, called *Vajraladhara* in the *Vansavali*. Here the *Rajatarangini* again comes to our aid, and in the reign of Sussala of Kashmir we find another reference to Babbapura, and its Raja, as "Vajradhar, the lord of Babbapura." That he is to be identified with the Vajraladhara of the *Vansavali* seems exceedingly probable.[1]

At that period political affairs in Kashmir were in a very unsettled condition. In A.D. 1101 the descendants of Ananta-Deva,—his grandson, Harsha, and great-grandson, Bhoja,—had been killed, and the throne was usurped by the Lohara Princes—Uchchala and Sussala. On Bhoja's death his infant son, Bhikshachara, was conveyed away to Malwa by the Princess Asamati. There he remained till A.D. 1112, when he returned to the Panjab in order to make an attempt to recover his paternal throne. At Kurukshetra (Thanesvar) he fell in with several hill Chiefs who had come there on pilgrimage.[2] Among them was Vajradhara of Babbapura and also Jasata of Chamba, who was maternal uncle to the young prince. These two Rajas along with the Yuvarajas or heirs-apparent of Trigarta (Kangra) and Vallapura (Balor), espoused his cause and promised their support. Soon afterwards Bhikshachara made an unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir, but what amount of help he had

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[1] The form *Vajradhara* must have been the correct and full form of the name. We may assume that from it was formed an abbreviated name, *Vajrala* (as in names like Vayula, Dronala, Rudrila) to which *dhara* was added in the *Vansavali* by the mistake of a copyist, making the impossible form *Vajraladhara*.

[2] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, pages 537-541.

from Vajradhara we do not know. He and Jasata of Chamba soon lost interest in the royal claimant, and changed sides when things looked unfavourable. The following note in the *Rajatarangini* (A.D. 1118) makes this quite clear :[1]—"When the king (Sussala) who resembled Vajradhara (Indra) gave an opportunity to Vajradhara and other princes to do homage he showed them a favour against his will." That this refers to Vajradhara of Babbapura seems extremely probable, and we may assume that he returned to his allegiance, like Jasata of Chamba, and left Bhikshachara to his fate. This is the last reference to him or the State in the *Rajatarangini.*

Surya-Dev, c. A.D. 1125.—Vajradhara may have ruled from about A.D. 1110 to 1125, and was succeeded by *Suryadev*, who was the first to assume the suffix of *dev* or *deva,* which continued in use till the expulsion of the senior branch of the family about 1816.

Bhuj-Dev, c. A.D. 1150.—The next Raja was *Bhuj-Dev,* who was in power from about A.D. 1150 to 1175, and from him were descended the collateral branches of Mankot and Jasrota which founded separate and independent States.

Autar-Dev, c. A.D. 1175.—Bhuj-Dev's eldest son, being feeble-minded, was regarded as disqualified for rule in those warlike times, and was, therefore, displaced by his next younger brother, named Autar-Dev. He retired to the Dansal Dun, where his descendants resided, and, at a later time, the then head of the family, named Manak-Dev, made himself independent and built the Mankot Fort. The third or youngest son of Bhuj-Dev, named Karan-Dev, in like manner retired to the outer hills, and founded the Jasrota State.

The Ranas and Thakurs, as already noted, are not so prominent in the record as in those of many other States, but that they were in possession previous to the founding of all these States, can hardly be doubted, and even after their subjection they still continued to hold their lands and wield great power. They are referred to in the records of Bandralta, Chanehni and Vallapura.

Jas-Dev, c. A.D. 1195.—Autar-Dev may have reigned till about A.D. 1195, and was succeeded by his son, Jas-Dev, who is said to have founded the town of Jasrota, which afterwards became the capital of the State of that name.

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[1] *Rajatarangini,* Stein, VIII, page 625.

From the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions, in A.D. 1001, there must have been almost continuous warfare, and references occur in the vernacular history to these wars, in which several Rajas fell in battle, but unfortunately no details have been preserved. In the final struggles in the latter half of the twelfth century we find Kashmir mentioned among the confederate States,[1]—comprising the army of Anang-Pal of Delhi (A. D. 1150—70), the last of the Tomara line; and Durgara with other Hill States must also probably have sent a contingent. Though the Muhammadans held Lahore and the plains of the Panjab, they were unable to penetrate into the mountains, where the Rajput Chiefs still preserved their independence, with a free passage for their forces through the hills to Delhi.

After Jas-Dev, the following Rajas succeeded, of whom we know nothing beyond the names : *Sangram-Dev I* ; *Jasakara-Dev* ; *Chak-Dev* ; *Braj-Dev* ; *Narsingh-Dev* ; *Arjun-Dev* ; *Jodha-Dev* ; *Mal-Dev*. It must have been in the reign of one or other of these Rajas, probably Mal-Dev, that the capital was changed from Babbapura to Jammu. As already stated, the present Purani Mandi buildings are said to have been erected by Raja Mal-Dev, who may have succeeded about A.D. 1370.

The town of Jammu stands on the right bank of the Tawi river at the point where it leaves the low hills. It is built on three terraces rising one behind the other, the highest—on which the palace stands—being towards the north. Viewed on the approach from the plains the place presents a picturesque appearance, with the low hills of the Savalaks in the back-ground, rising tier upon tier till the horizon is closed in by the snowy range of the Pir Panjal. From the palace the vista to the north-east, along the upper windings of the Tawi, is very fascinating. The finest view of all is from Ramnagar to the north of the town, overlooking the Tawi Valley. Here stands a striking pile of buildings erected by the late Raja Sir Amar-Singh, with the frontage to the river and in tastefully laid out grounds.

Jammu contains a large cluster of temples on the lower terrace, but all of them seem to be of recent date.

The town was originally fortified towards the south, fronting the Tawi, but the walls are now in a crumbling condition, and have been breached in many places. Towards

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[1] Tod's *Rajasthan*, reprint, 1899, Volume I, page 268.

the north and east, it was protected by the deep gorge of the Tawi, and on the west by the dense jungle.

Though Jammu contains no ancient remains to indicate that it is a place of any great antiquity, yet there may have been the nucleus of a town on the spot from an early period. We may assume, however, that it was not a place of any importance till the ninth or tenth century, when, according to the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami,* it is said to have been founded.

Bhim-Dev, c. A.D. 1395.[1]—As already stated the first historical mention of Jammu is found in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri,* in connection with Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398—9. He advanced as far as Delhi, and hearing of the Hindus, who inhabited the outer hills, he determined to carry a holy war against them on his way back to the Indus. The Raja of Jammu of the time is referred to, but not named, and we may conjecture that Bhim-Dev was then in power.

From Timur's personal narrative it is easy to follow the line of his advance north-ward, along the foot of the hills. After leaving Delhi on his return he marched by Mirat to near Hardwar on the Ganges, the ancient name of which, Mayapuri, is noted. He then entered the Savalaks, and crossed the Jamna, the Satluj and the Bias where they leave the hills, fighting all the way.

Between the Satluj and the Bias he had severe conflicts in the outer valleys with the forces of the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra), but does not appear to have penetrated as far as Kangra fort, nor does he mention its capture. He most probably passed through Pathankot, then called Pathan or Paithan, which was at that time the capital of Nurpur State. Having crossed the Ravi, probably at Shahpur-Kandi or Madhopur, he continued his march along the fertile tracts bordering on the plains, as far as Mansar, whence the final advance was made on Jammu. Timur's camp must have been pitched on the left bank of the Tawi river opposite the town, and a reference occurs to Jammu Fort, that is, the fort of Bahu, also on the left bank of the Tawi, The dense jungle, along the low-lying valley of the Tawi, to which Timur refers, still exists, and it is easy to understand how a successful ambush could be laid for the Jammu forces as related.

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[1] Cf. *Zafarnama,* Elliot's *History,* Volume III, pages 517—520, and *Malfuzat-i-Timuri,* Elliot's *History,* Volume III, pages 468-9-70.

On moving away from Jammu, Timur crossed to the right bank of the Tawi and followed that bank down to the Chinab, which he calls Chinawa, a name still in use. He then crossed that river into Bajwat, as the district is now called, and marched westward into the Chibhan—or country between the Chinab and Jehlam—and crossed the latter river probably a little way above the present town of the same name. There he left his army and travelled by forced marches to the Indus on his way back to Samarkand.

The reference to Jammu is interesting, and we give it in full :[1]—" I inquired of the people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity, against whom I could carry the scourge of a holy warfare. In answer to my inquiry I was informed that the castle of Jammu was near, that it was connected with the Siwalik and Kuka mountains, and that the inhabitants were not submissive and obedient to the Sultans of Hindustan. These facts being made known to me, I, on the 16th Jamada'l-Akhir, 802 (A.D. 1398), marched from the village of Mansar determined to carry my arms against the infidels of Jammu. After marching six *kos* I encamped at the village of Baila, in the territory of Jammu. I sent Amir Shaikh Muhammad, son of Amir Aiku Timur, and some other officers, at the head of a body of horse, against the village of Baila. The people in that village confident in their numbers, in the density of the jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle, prepared to give battle and offer resistance. The Amirs who had gone on in advance, reported these facts to me, and asked permission to attack and defeat the enemy. I returned answer that I myself was desirous of sharing in the merit of the holy war, and, therefore, that battle must be deferred to the morrow, until I should arrive. On the next day, the 17th, I marched towards Baila. When the eyes of the enemy fell upon my royal banners, and the cries of my warriors sounded in their ears, they wavered and fled, seeking refuge in the dense jungles and thickets. I directed the Amirs in the front to advance and seize the mouths of the jungles and woods, so that the troops might enter the village of Baila and plunder it in security. No man was to enter the jungles and woods. The Amirs carried out these orders, and the soldiers obtained great quantities of grain, sugar and oil. After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the build-

[1] *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot's *History*, Volume III, pages 468—9, 70-1-2.

ings. At the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of my camp there was a flourishing village, and I sent a force to plunder it. When they reached it, the Hindus of the place, who were numerous, assembled to resist, but on the approach of my men fear fell upon their hearts, and they set fire to their houses and fled to the mountains. My victorious soldiers pursued them and slew many of them. A large booty in grain and property fell into our hands. There were two other large villages in the vicinity of this village. These also were plundered, and a large amount of spoil was secured. On this day Ra-Timur was wounded."

"On the 19th I again marched and came up opposite to the city of Jammu, and there encamped, my royal tents and canopies being set up. The five or six *kos* which I traversed, on this day's march, was entirely through a cultivated country, nowhere did I see any dry or waste land, and so in the place where I encamped there was no necessity for any man to go out into the fields in search of fodder for his horse or camel, for there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals. On the next day, the 20th, after resting for the night, I again moved with the intention of attacking the town of Jammu. I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammu is situated, and there I pitched my tents, but I sent my army over the river to the foot of a mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demon-spirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their village. The Raja, with his warlike *gabrs*, and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley where they howled like so many jackals. I commanded that not a soldier should go towards the mountain or have anything to do with these *gabrs*, but that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammu and village of Manu. Accordingly my forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds, and cattle. I returned victorious to the baggage, where I entered my tents, and passed the night in pleasure and rest."

"As soon as morning broke the drums sounded. I selected certain *Kushuns* (regiments) which I placed under the command of experienced, veteran Amirs, and I instructed them to go and conceal themselves in the jungle, while I marched away with drums playing. The Hindus and *gabrs*, who had fled to the hills in alarm at my approach, would

then come down from the mountains in fancied security, and my troops in ambush might fall upon them and cut them to pieces. In execution of this order the troops went and concealed themselves, and I mounting my horse crossed the river of Jammu, and marched four *kos*. All this distance was through arable land, and a green and fertile country. I encamped on the banks of the Chinawa on a piece of cultivated ground, and set up my tents with all the baggage around. Some horsemen now arrived in haste, from the Amirs whom I had left in ambush, to inform me that after I had marched away, the Raja of Jammu and other devilish *gabrs* came down confidently from the tops of the hills. When they reached the plain, the Amirs rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the infidels, and killed a great number of them. A few of them, worn out and wounded, had escaped to the jungles, and woods. The Raja of Jammu, who was ruler of the country, with fifty Raos and Rajputs, had been made prisoners by Daulat Timur Tawachi, Husain Malik Kuchin and others belonging to the *tuman* of Amir Shaikh Nur-ud-din, and the whole force was coming up with the prisoners. I gave thanks to Almighty God, that the enemies of the Muhammdan religion had been smitten down by the men of the faith, or had been made prisoners. The day before, confident in their numbers and in the density of the jungle and the altitude of the hills, they had raised their cries of defiance, and now by the grace of God they were prisoners in my hands. I immediately gave orders that the prisoners should be put in bonds and chains. When my eyes fell upon the Raja of Jammu, who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart, and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Muhammadan, if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of a cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musalmans. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds, and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours."

We are not told the name of the Raja of Jammu who was thus captured and forced to become a Muhammdan ; it may have been Rai Bhim.[1] Of one thing we may be certain, *viz.*, that his successor was a Rajput of the ancient line.

[1] Elliot's *History*, Volume, III, page 472.

Some years after Timur's invasion a reference to Jammu occurs in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami* (A.D. 1417). It is to the effect that Sultan Ali, son of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, after reigning for six years and nine months, abdicated in favour of his brother, Zain-ul-Abidin, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

On reaching Jammu the Raja of that place, to whose daughter he was married,[1] dissuaded him from undertaking the journey, and incited him to march against his brother. It is certainly very remarkable that the daughter of a Hindu Raja should have been married to a Muhammadan prince, unless Jammu was then subject to Kashmir. One is inclined to conclude that the Raja of Jammu at the time must have been the same whom Timur converted by force to Islam, and who, having broken caste, may have been unable to return to his ancestral faith.

A few years later another reference is found in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarikshahi*, [2] containing the name of a Raja of Jammu which does not appear in the *Vansavali*. It is thus evident that some names must have been dropped in copying. At that period the Sayyid dynasty was ruling in Delhi (A.D. 1414-1450), and the Panjab seems to have been in a disturbed and unsettled condition. The Raja of Jammu of the time was Rai Bhim, and he may possibly be the same who is referred to in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami*. His name, however, is not found in the *Vansavali*, but he may have come after Raja Mal-Dev, about A.D. 1395.

In A.D. 1420 a rebellion broke out in the Panjab, led by one Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar,[3] one of the local *Zamindars* or petty Chiefs, who aimed at the capture of Delhi.[4] The first mention of the family occurs in Timur's Memoirs. On Timur's march towards Delhi he was opposed near the banks of the Bias by one Nasrat Shaikha Khokhar, who was defeated and slain. This man had formerly, as we learn, been Governor of Lahore under Sultan Mahmud of Delhi (A.D. 1394-1414). On the defeat of Nasrat Shaikha Khokhar, his brother, Malik Shaikha Khokhar, waited on Timur and made his submission. He remained for some time in Timur's camp, and, after receiving permission to depart, he proceeded to Lahore and rebelled. A force was sent against him, and he was made prisoner and brought to Timur's camp and died.

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[1] From an early period in Muhammadan rule the Hindu Rajas had to send a daughter to the royal harem. *Vide Ferishta*, Briggs, Volume IV, pages 467-8.

[2] Elliot's *History*, Volume III, page 472.

[3] *Ibid.*, Volume IV, pages 56-57.

[4] *Ibid.*, pages 59 and 85.

Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar was probably a son of Malik Shaikha Khokhar.[1] On his rebellion a force was sent against him from Delhi, and, being defeated on the Satluj, he fled northward along the foot of the hills, pursued by the Sultan, and seems to have passed near Jammu. Rai Bhim came to the royal camp and was honoured with an interview. He then undertook to act as guide in the pursuit of Jasrat Shaikha Khokhar, and after crossing the *Janhava* (Chinab) he conducted the royal army to a place named Tekhar, Jasrath's stronghold, which was captured and destroyed.

In A.D. 1421 Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar was again on the war path, and advanced as far as Lahore, to which he laid siege.[2] On being defeated, after some severe fighting, he retreated towards Kalanaur, then an important place held by a royal garrison. On hearing of the new outbreak, Rai Bhim seems to have hastened from his capital to Kalanaur to offer assistance, and came into the fort. On Jasrath's approach constant fighting went on without any decisive result. At length, on the approach of a royal army from Delhi, Jasrath was compelled to retreat to Tekhar, his stronghold, and as the royal army advanced in pursuit along the foot of the hills, Rai Bhim again came out and joined it, but we are not told how the rebellion ended. This is not the last we hear of Jasrath Khokhar. In A.D. 1423 he again invaded the Panjab, and was once more opposed by Rai Bhim, who was killed in the fighting,[3] the greater part of his horses and arms falling into the hands of the victor. On the death of Rai Bhim, Jasrath, joined by a company of Mughals, then beginning to swarm into India, probably as mercenaries, attacked the territory of Dipalpur and Lahore, but was driven back. He continued to be a thorn in the flesh to the Sayyid Sultans for many years. The last we hear of him is in A.D. 1441, when Bahlol Lodi was sent against him from Delhi, but he managed to win over Bahlol, and encouraged him to aspire to the throne. Jasrath was ultimately killed by his wife, a daughter of Rai Bhim, in revenge, it is said, for the death of her father.[4]

The side-lights which these records throw on contemporaneous history are interesting, as showing the general condition of things in those distracted times, in which the Rajas of Jammu must have borne a part. Unfortunately

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[1] Elliot's *History*, Volume IV, pages 54, 55, 56.

[2] *Ibid.*, pages 56—57.

[3] *Ibid.*, pages 59 and 85. Tekhar has not been located, but it was in the hills to the west of the Chinab, called Telhar, page 73.

[4] *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I, page 344, and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, page 367.

we meet with no further references to any of them in the Muhammadan histories, till a much later period.

The States of the Eastern Group continued to enjoy independence for several centuries after the Muhammadan invasions began. For a short time, indeed, Nagarkot, after being captured by Mahmud in A.D. 1009, remained in alien hands; but it was recovered in A.D. 1043, and probably for six hundred years afterwards it was in the possession of its legitimate lords. With Jammu things must have been different. It was much more open to attack, being on the very edge of the plains, and lying right in the way of advancing and retreating armies. Unfortunately there are no records to tell us of the varying fortunes through which it passed. That it was tributary to the Muhammadans from an early period seems probable, more especially after the fall of the Hindu empire of Delhi in A.D. 1193, and the full establishment of Muhammadan rule. That revolts were frequent seems certain, and we read of such an occurrence in the reign of Salim Shah Sur, when Jammu Fort was captured (A.D. 1545-53). The hill princes were probably often goaded into rebellion by the harsh treatment meted out to them by local governors, for in the reign of Sher-Shah, A.D. 1540-45, we read that Hamid Khan Kakar "was in charge of the hill country and ruled with great severity."

The Rajas who followed Bhim-Dev were: *Hamir-Dev; Ajaya or Ajab-Dev; Virama-Dev; Ghogar-Dev* and *Kapur-Dev*, but of these reigns no records are available.[1]

Jag-Dev, c. A.D. 1560.—Kapur-Dev had two sons, Jajna or Jag-Dev and Samil-Dev, between whom a dispute arose about the succession, owing probably to their having been born of different *ranis* at or near the same time. On their father's demise strife began between them, and, as each seems to have had a large following, the State was divided into two parts, with the river Tawi as the boundary. Bahu Fort had probably been the place of residence of the Rajas from ancient times, and Jag-Dev held his court there, while Samil-Dev ruled in Jammu, and this condition of affairs seem to have lasted for several reigns. The Rajas ruling in Bahu were called Bahuwal and those in Jammu took the name of Jamwal. We may perhaps conclude that *Bahuwal* was the ancient clan name of the Rajas of Durgara, and that the present clan name, *Jamwal*, dates from the time of Samil-Dev.

[1] Ferishta mentions two Rajas of Jammu about A.D. 1480—90 and later, whose names were Ajit-Deo and Parasram. These were probably the Ajeya and Parasram of the *Vansavali*. Cf. *Ferishta*, trans. 1909, Volume IV, pages 478—482.

Parasram-Dev, c. A.D. 1585.—Jag-Dev was succeeded by Parasram-Dev and Samil-Dev by Sangram-Dev, ruling as contemporaries, the one in Bahu and the other in Jammu, and so keen was the feeling between them, that people crossing the Tawi from either side were robbed and maltreated, and actual warfare seems to have gone on for sometime, with the loss of many lives. These States remained distinct for about 100 years.

With the full advent of Mughal rule the Muhammadan supremacy, which had previously been intermittent, became firmly established, and from the time of Akbar onwards for 200 years the Hill States were completely subject.[1] Even then, however, this submission was not accepted willingly, for we read of frequent outbreaks in which Jammu and other States were involved. Such an outbreak occurred in A.D. 1588-89, in the thirty-fifth year of Akbar's reign. The revolt seems to have been general throughout the hills, from the Satluj to the Chinab, and was led by Raja Bidhi-Chand of Kangra. Among the hill Chiefs involved appear the names of Parasram of Mount Jammu, Partap of Mankot, Rai Krishan Balauria of Balor (Basohli), Rai Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrota, Balibhadar of Lakhanpur, Raja Basu of Mau (Nurpur), Bidhi-Chand of Nagarkot (Kangra), Raja Anrudh of Jaswan, Raja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilaspur), Raja Jagdis-Chand Dahwal (Dadwal-Datarpur), Daulat of Kot Bharta (Bhadu), Rai Sansar-Chand of Panna, and Rai Raodeh Dhamerwal. The united forces of these Rajas amounted to 10,000 horsemen and one lakh of footmen.[2] Zain Khan Koka, who was Akbar's foster-brother, was placed in command of a strong force for the suppression of the revolt, and, like a wise commander and good strategist, he entered the hills at Pathankot so as to separate the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. Though it is not stated, we may conclude that a force was sent westward towards Jammu, while he led the main army eastward as far as the Satluj. In the end all these Chiefs submitted and accompanied Zain Khan to Court, where they tendered their allegiance, presented valuable presents, and were pardoned. They were then dismissed and returned to their principalities.

It was probably about this time that Akbar initiated the practice of requiring hostages from the Hill States to ensure the fidelity of the Chiefs. The hostage usually was a son,

[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I, page 344, and *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 368.
[2] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 367.

brother, uncle or near relative of the ruling Chief, and he had to remain in attendance on the Emperor. We are told that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were twenty-two young princes as hostages from the Hill States at the Mughal Court.

In A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-5),[1] another rebellion took place which is fully described in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* and the *Akbarnama*. Two large forces seem to have been sent for its suppression. One of these was under the command of Mirza Rustam Qandahari to whom the *pargana* of Paithan (Pathankot), a portion of Nurpur State, was granted in *jagir*. This force entered the hills at Pathankot, and on its approach Raja Basu took refuge in the strong fort of Maukot, which was besieged and captured in two months. On his surrender he was sent to Lahore, and on making his submission and renewing his allegiance he was pardoned, and the State "was graciously confirmed to him," except the *pargana* of Paithan which, as already stated, was annexed to the Empire. Before leaving for Lahore he seems to have sent his son, Suraj-Mal, to Jammu to meet the force advancing from there towards the Ravi, which he joined at Samba.

The other Imperial army[2] for the suppression of the revolt was placed under the command of Shaikh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or paymaster, and advanced against Jammu. The Raja of the time is not named, but most likely Parasram was still in power. The leader of the revolt was the Raja of Jasrota, called Bhabu, who is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels." We are not told what was the occasion of the rising, but may conjecture that the Chiefs were impatient of control, and took advantage of every opportunity to regain their freedom. The account is as follows :—" Armaments had several times been sent under Amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places, but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished. So on the 10th Muharram, A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), the Emperor sent Shaikh Farid, Bakhshi-ul-Mulk, with several other Amirs and a considerable force to effect the conquest. He had great confidence in the ability and resolution of the Bakhshi. The force marched to the Siwalik hills, and the Bakhshi resolved to begin by attacking Jammu, one of the strongest forts in that country, which had once been reduced, after considerable resistance, by Salim

[1] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 367.

[2] *Akbarnama*, Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 125 to 129.

Shah Sur. The Raja made signs of resistance, and it was resolved to attack him before the army proceeded to occupy the territories of the rebels in other directions. Husain Beg and some other officers were accordingly sent against him. When the Raja and the zamindars heard of the approach of the Imperial forces they were greatly alarmed and surrendered the fort of Jammu. After placing a garrison in the place, the Bakhshi marched against the fort of Ramgarh which he took by assault, and placed in the custody of the men of Nawab Zain Khan Koka. Husain Khan now returned and joined the main force. Another force was now sent under Payinda Kakshal to receive the submission of such Rajas and zamindars as were willing to pay their allegiance, and to coerce those who resisted. The army then proceeded towards Jasruna (Jasrota) and Lakhanpur; and the Rajas and zamindars, who had long been independent, submitted and paid their revenue.

After the suppression of the revolt things seem to have remained quiet in the Jammu hills for a long time, and we read of no more outbreaks. Parasram-Dev was followed by *Krishen-Dev* about A.D. 1610; *Azmat-Dev, c.* A.D. 1635, and *Kripal-Dev, c.* A.D. 1660, all of whom ruled in Bahu.

There is a reference to Kripal-Dev in the Chamba annals, probably between A.D. 1670-80.[1] Khwaja Rezia Beg was then Viceroy of the Panjab, and he was in the habit of making inroads into the hills and seizing portions of territory from the hill Chiefs. Kripal-Dev of Jammu, Chatar-Singh of Chamba, Dhiraj-Pal of Basohli and Raj-Singh of Guler, therefore, combined their forces against him, and Jammu sent Pathan mercenaries who defeated the invaders and expelled them from the hills. According to the *Vansavali*, Kripal-Dev was succeeded by Anant-Dev, and afterwards the Bahuwal Rajas seem to have retired or been expelled from Bahu, but the family is still in existence, and resides in Jammu territory. This is said to have occurred in the reign of Hari-Dev of Jammu, A.D. 1650-75.

Meanwhile the descendants of Samil-Dev continued to rule in Jammu. Samil-Dev was succeeded by *Sangram-Dev*, who is frequently mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.[2] It is probable that Sangram-Dev of Jammu is the hill Raja referred to by Jahangir about A.D. 1616-17, as having opposed Raja Man, who had been appointed to succeed

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 94.

[2] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume II, pages 5, 88, 120, 138, 154, 171, 175, 193.

Shaikh Farid Murtaza Khan in the government of the Panjab, and in the siege of Kangra Fort. On his arrival at Lahore, as we read, Raja Man heard that "Sangram, one of the Zemindars (petty Chiefs) of the hill country of the Punjab," had taken possession of part of his province. He therefore proceeded to drive him out. As Sangram was unable to make a stand he retreated into the hills, and Raja Man pursued him with a small force and seems to have fallen into an ambush. A fight took place and Raja Man was killed.

The next mention of Raja Sangram-Dev occurs in the *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri* in A.D. 1620, where it is recorded that "Sangram-Dev of Jammu"[1] received orders from the Emperor, then probably in Kashmir, to send a contingent to co-operate with a force from Kashmir to suppress a revolt or popular outbreak in Kashtwar. In the following year he was sent to Kangra with Qasim Khan, and was presented with a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant.

Sangram-Dev[2] may have ruled till about A.D. 1625, and he was succeeded by Bhupat-Dev, whose signature occurs on a Persian *sanad* in the Chamba archives, given by a Mughal officer under the orders of the Viceroy of the Panjab, and dealing with a boundary dispute between Raja Prithvi-Singh of Chamba and Sangram-Pal of Basohli. It is dated 19th Safar, 1058 H. = 15th March, 1648 A.D., and Bhupat-Dev is there called "Rai Bhupat Jamwal," and he probably reigned till about A.D. 1650.

According to the vernacular history he was followed by Hari-Dev, who may have been in power till about A.D. 1675, and was succeeded by Gajai-Dev. It was during Hari-Dev's reign that the Bahuwal Rajas either retired or were expelled from the portion of Jammu State over which they ruled, and the two portions were then reunited under one Chief.

Gajai-Dev, c. A.D. 1675.—Gajai-Dev's reign was probably uneventful, and there are no records extant. He had four sons, of whom Dhruva or Dhrub-Dev was the eldest.

Dhrub-Dev, A.D. 1703.—Under the weak emperors who followed Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire began to decline. The invasions of Nadir-Shah and the Marathas and the growing power of the Sikhs hastened on the downfall, which reached a crisis in the Panjab in 1752, with the cession of the province to Ahmed Shah Durani. The decline began soon

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[1] *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*: Elliot's *History*, pages 373-4.

[2] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 53.

after Dhrub-Dev came to the *gaddi*, and during this critical and eventful period the increasing disorder on the plains must have been watched with keen interest by the hills Chiefs.

It was probably in the early part of Dhrub-Dev's reign that two incidents recorded in the Chamba annals took place.[1] At that time Udai-Singh was Raja of Chamba (1690-1720), and very friendly relations seem to have existed between him and Raj-Singh of Guler. Raj-Singh died leaving an infant son, Dalip-Singh, to whom Udai-Singh held the relationship of guardian. Soon afterwards Guler was invaded by Jammu, assisted by Basohli and Bhadu. In her extremity the queen-mother appealed to Udai-Singh for help, and, with the aid of Siba, Kahlur and Mandi, he drove out the invaders and established Dalip-Singh on the *gaddi*.

This association of the three States of Jammu, Basohli and Bhadu is interesting. As we have seen, this close relationship had been in existence from early times, and it became still closer from the reign of Dhrub-Dev. With the State reunited and powerful, Jammu began to extend her supremacy over the neighbouring States, and probably most of those between the Chinab and the Ravi were brought under her control, more or less, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The invasion of Guler to the east of the Ravi was probably also an attempt in the same direction. Another incident, referred to in the Chamba annals, took place in Dhrub-Dev's reign. Raja Udai-Singh of Chamba had aroused strong feeling against himself among the officials, and they suspended him from power and put his cousin, Ugar-Singh, in his place. Soon afterwards, however, they restored Udai-Singh and Ugar-Singh fled to Jammu, where he found an asylum, and was hospitably treated by Raja Dhrub-Dev, till recalled to Chamba on Udai-Singh's death. Dhrub-Dev had four sons, Ranjit-Dev, Ghansar-Dev, Surat-Singh and Balwant-Singh, and from Surat-Singh is descended the junior branch of the Jamwal royal family, now in power.

Ranjit-Dev, A.D. 1735.—Ranjit-Dev was perhaps the most notable Chief who ever ruled in Jammu. Soon after his accession he incurred the suspicion of Zakariah Khan, the Mughal governor of the Panjab. On a report of his disloyal attitude reaching the emperor's ears, an order for his arrest was issued, and the governor proceeded to Jammu in

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 95-6.

person to carry it into effect. Ranjit-Dev was accordingly seized and brought to Lahore where he remained in captivity for twelve years, his brother, Ghansar-Dev, meanwhile acting as ruler of the State. He was finally released on the intervention of Adina Beg Khan, then governor of Jalandhar, on the promise to pay a ransom of two lakhs of rupees, only half of which seems to have been sent. By the time it reached Lahore the governor was dead, and the money was made over to Adina Beg Khan who kept it. As Zakariah Khan died in A.D. 1747, this was probably the year in which Ranjit-Dev was set at liberty.

Soon afterwards Ahmad Shah Durani invaded the Panjab, and Ranjit-Dev seems to have lent him support, and received favours from him on the cession of the Province in A.D. 1752.

In 1762 Ahmad Shah Durani again invaded the Panjab, and his attention was turned to Kashmir where his governor, Sukh-Jewan, had for nine years carried on the administration, without remitting any portion of the revenue to his master. Preparations for an invasion were made, and, with some difficulty, Ranjit-Dev was prevailed upon to co-operate. A strong force was sent from Lahore, which the Jammu Chief in person conducted over the Pir Panjal into the valley, and after some slight resistance the governor submitted ; and on being made prisoner he was blinded as a punishment.

With the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani, Mughal supremacy over the Hill States came to an end, after having been in existence for nearly 200 years. But the condition of anarchy, resulting from the Maratha invasions and the predatory bands of Sikhs, rendered it impossible for the Afghans to fully establish their authority. The province remained nominally attached to the kingdom of Kabul, but, as Mr. Barnes remarks, "the same vigour of character which had secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it. There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy in Lahore, but Mughal officers are believed to have continued to maintain almost independent power in the various parts of the province." The hill Chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the absence of all authority, and they asserted their independence and proceeded to resume all the territories of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. This was comparatively easy, as Durani rule, weak even on the plains, was practically nominal in the hills to the east of the Jehlam and Chinab.

Ranjit-Dev was a man of great ability, force of character and administrative talent, and he soon began to make his power felt in the hills. Like the other hill Chiefs he resumed independence on the cession of the Panjab, and also asserted his supremacy over the other Hill States between the Chinab and the Ravi. Indeed, as we have seen, it seems probable that Dhrub-Dev, his father, had already acquired some control over these States, as far east as Basohli.[1] Ranjit-Dev even sought to bring Chamba under his sway, during the minority of Raja Raj-Singh of that State. The queen-mother was a Jammu princess, perhaps a sister of Ranjit-Dev, and with her help as queen-regent he had appointed one of his own officials as Wazir. On coming of age, Raj-Singh, who disliked this official and probably suspected designs on the State, had him arrested and imprisoned. This was resented by Ranjit-Dev, and he sent an army under Amrit-Pal of Basohli to invade Chamba. A large portion of Churah, the northern province of the State, was overrun. On hearing of this Raj-Singh, who was then on the plains, sent to the Ramgarhia Sardars for help, and with their aid he drove out the invading force. This took place in 1775.

Ranjit-Dev also extended his supremacy over the States of Kashtwar and Bhadrawah in the inner mountains, and even for some distance to the west of the Chinab.

During Ranjit-Dev's reign the town of Jammu prospered greatly.[2] The confusion and disorder on the plains diverted trade to the hills, and many wealthy merchants had sought an asylum or established branch firms for safety and security. To all alike, Hindu or Muhammadan, the Raja extended a welcome, and his capital grew and flourished.

As the ordinary routes of travel through the plains had become unsafe, merchants and other travellers proceeding to Kashmir and the north-west frontier adopted a route which entered the outer hills near Nahan, passed through Bilaspur, Nadaun, Haripur (Guler) and Nurpur to Basohli on the Ravi, and thence to Jammu. This was really an old route which was in use in the time of Alberuni (A.D. 1017-1030), but which had probably fallen more or less into disuse in the settled times of Mughal rule. By this route Mr. Forster travelled in 1783, on his journey from India to England, and describes it.

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages. 98-9.

[2] Cf. *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 10.

He remarks:[1] "Previous to Nadir Shah's invasion of India the common road from Delhi to Kashmir lay through Sirhind, Lahore and 'Heerpur (in Kashmir),' the pass of which is fully described by Mr. Bernier under the name of Bimber. Since the inroad of the Persians, Afghans and the Marhattas, but especially since the period of the Sikh conquests, that track has been rendered unsafe to merchants, and is now disused. This obstruction diverted the Kashmirian trade into the channel of Jambo, which being shut up from the Punjab by a strong chain of mountains, difficult of access to cavalry, it has been preferred to the Lahore road, though the journey is tedious and the expenses of merchandise increased."

Many others besides merchants, such as artizans, also retired into the hills where they could pursue their various callings in security and peace.[2] Several political refugees in those troublous times also found an asylum in Jammu, and were treated by Ranjit-Dev with much distinction. He also enjoined his son, Brajraj-Dev, to continue to them the same courtesy, but this the latter failed to do. Among others were Malka Zamani, a Delhi queen; and also one of the widows of Mir-Manu, Viceroy of Lahore, in the reigns of Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah; Hari-Singh, the son, with other members of the family of Raja Kaura-Mal, the Diwan or Minister to Mir-Manu, who was killed in 1752, near Shahderah, in battle with Ahmad Shah Durani; also Dalpat-Rai, the son of Lakpat-Rai, the Diwan or Minister of the Mughal Viceroy, Yahya Khan; with the remains of other families of the nobles of Delhi, or of the Viceregal Courts.

Mr. Forster passed through Jammu in 1783, and has much to say in praise of Raja Ranjit-Dev, from which we give the following:[3]—"Ranjit-Dev perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Muhammadan merchants, observed towards them a disinterested and honourable conduct. He protected and indulged his people, particularly the Muhammadans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Mughulpur, and, that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony,—a liberty of disposition the more conspicuous and conferring the greater

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[1] Foster, *Travels*, pages 282-83.

[2] Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, page 246.

[3] Forster, *Travels*, pages 283-4-5.

honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like tolerance in this part of India. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem, that when he has been riding through their quarter, during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindus once complained that the public wells were defiled by the Muhammadans' vessels, and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river, but he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying that water was a pure element, designed for the general use of mankind, and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. This made Jammu a place of extensive commercial resort, where all descriptions of men experienced in their persons and property a full security."

The later years of Ranjit-Dev's reign were clouded by dissensions in his family between himself and the heir-apparent, Brajraj-Dev, probably arising out of the dissipated character of the latter.[1] For this reason, it is said, he favoured the succession of his younger son, Dalel-Singh. From quarrelling they fell to fighting, and this resulted in an appeal for help being made to the Sikhs by both sides. The Sikhs had begun their incursions into the hills some time before, and in 1756 Jammu was invaded by Gujar-Singh, and in 1761-2 by Bhamma-Singh and Hari-Singh, all of the Bhangi *misl*, and on each occasion the town was plundered. From then the State was more or less in subjection to that *misl*, and paid tribute to Jhanda-Singh, the then head of the *misl*. In 1774 Brajraj-Dev called Sardar Charhat-Singh of the Sukarchakia *misl*, grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, and Jai-Singh of the Kanheya *misl*. Ranjit-Dev appealed for help to Jhanda-Singh of the Bhangi *misl*, to whom he was tributary.

Brajraj-Dev wished to depose his father, and Charhat-Singh joined in this design the more readily, that he entertained old feelings of enmity against Ranjit-Dev. The united forces then marched into the hills and encamped on the banks of the Basantar river, some way east of Jammu.

Ranjit-Dev had timely warning and collected a force to oppose the invasion, composed of his own troops, with auxiliaries from Chamba, Nurpur, Bashahr and Kangra, in addition to the force of Jhanda-Singh Bhangi.

[1] Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Volume I, pages 237-40; also *History of the Punjab*, Latif, page 298.

The two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the Basantar, and in a skirmish between the Sikh auxiliaries, Charhat-Singh Sukarchakia was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock. The skirmishing went on for some days, and at one time it seemed as if the Bhangis would win. It was, therefore, determined by Jai-Singh Kanheya and others to effect the assassination of Jhanda-Singh, who was the mainstay of the Jammu Raja and the avowed enemy of the Sukarchakia and Kanheya *misls*. A sweeper in the Jammu camp was bribed to do the deed, and effected his purpose by firing at and mortally wounding Jhanda-Singh as he was walking unattended through the camp.

Another authority, Khushwaqt-Rai, states that Charhat-Singh was killed at Udhu-Chak on the banks of the Basantar, after the two armies had been six months encamped on opposite sides of the stream. He also confirms the story of the assassination of Jhanda-Singh, but states that the Chief was riding about with two or three orderlies at the time.

On the death of their Chief, the Bhangis retired from the Jammu Camp, and the Sukarchakia and Kanheya Sikhs also abandoned the enterprize. Thus Ranjit-Dev and his son were left to settle their quarrel between themselves. Before leaving the camp, Maha-Singh, son of Charhat-Singh, went through the ceremony of *dastar-badli* or exchange of turbans with Brajraj-Dev, which bound them in brotherhood for life.

Although Ranjit-Dev was hard pressed by the Sikhs and by dissensions in his own family, he seems to have succeeded in retaining the suzerainty over many of the other Hill States between the Ravi and the Chinab, and it was probably in his reign that the popular saying arose: *Bayan vich Jammu Sirdar hai*, meaning "among the twenty-two Jammu is head."[1] This saying is understood by some to refer to the twenty-two States between the Sutlej and the Chinab; eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Ravi, but it may perhaps be more correctly referred to the States between the Ravi and the Jehlam, twenty-two in number, which are now all included in the province of Jammu. How far Ranjit-Dev had acquired a suzerainty over the States of the Chibhan, between the Chinab and the Jehlam, we do not know, but the *Tarikhi-Punjab* states that Rajauri was then tributary to Jammu.

[1] Sansar-Chand of Kangra seems to have made a similar claim.

In this connection the following note by Mr. Drew, on the political condition and relations of Jammu in the reign of Ranjit-Dev, is interesting:[1]—"A little after the middle of the last century we find that the power of the Jammu ruler, exercised either directly or by feudatory Chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the Ravi river or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the Chinab, southwards for some little way into the plains, and northwards as far as the beginning of the middle mountains. The feudatory Chiefs, those, for instance, of Aknur, Dalpatpur, Kiramchi, etc., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jammu they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jammu itself; attending the Court of the ruler and having separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in that town are remembered, where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler, but usually the Chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time."

This statement is confirmed by the Balor Chronicle which tells that Basohli was more or less dependent on Jammu, from the time of Dhrub-Dev, and, as we have seen, the invasion of Chamba in 1775 was carried out by Amrit-Pal of Basohli under the orders of Ranjit-Dev.

Ranjit-Dev, as we also know, exercised control over the States of Kashtwar and Bhadrawah in the Chinab Valley.

Brajraj-Dev, A.D. 1781.—Ranjit-Dev died in 1781 and was succeeded by his son, Brajraj-Dev, who was debauched and dissolute. Though he had succeeded to the State he still cherished strong hatred against his brother, Dalel-Singh, and sought to kill him. He first approached Zorawar-Singh, his own cousin, but met with a refusal, but Mian Mota, another cousin, was persuaded to undertake the perpetration of the deed. Soon afterwards Dalel-Singh, accompanied by his son, Bhagwant-Singh, set out to visit the shrine of Trikota Mai, and Mian Mota followed him with a force, on the pretence of also doing the pilgrimage. On reaching the village of Charanpadika there was an encounter, and Dalel-Singh and his son were both killed. It is said

[1] *Jammu and Kashmir,* page 9.

that Bhagwant-Singh, though only a boy, fought bravely, and slew several of his assailants before he was overcome. Jit-Singh, second son of Dalel-Singh, was not with his father and so escaped. This tragedy must have taken place previous to Mr. Forster's visit to Jammu in 1783, as he states that Brajraj-Dev had slain one brother and imprisoned another. Probably it was Jit-Singh, the son of Dalel-Singh, who was imprisoned, and on making his escape he fled to the Sikhs, to solicit their aid. Discontent soon arose in the State, affording an excuse for interference.[1] Another cause for this interference was that the Sikhs of the Bhangi *misl* had annexed a portion of Jammu territory, which Brajraj-Dev wished to recover. He therefore applied to Jai-Singh and Hakikat-Singh of the Kanheya *misl* for help. After a pitched battle the territory was recovered, but the Kanheya Chiefs then deserted Brajraj and went over to the Bhangis. Karianwala, the territory referred to, again passed to the Sikhs and Jammu was invaded. The Jammu Chief called to his assistance Maha-Singh of the Sukarchakia *misl*, but was defeated and agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000 to Hakikat-Singh Kanheya. Six months afterwards, the money not having been paid, Hakikat-Singh gained over Maha-Singh to his side, and they determined to make an attack upon Jammu, which, as we have seen, was then one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in the Panjab. It will be recalled that Maha-Singh had previously received Brajraj into blood-brotherhood, by the ceremony of exchanging turbans, but the obligation he had then come under does not seem to have troubled the Sikh chieftain. Brajraj-Dev being in no condition for resistance, fled to the Trikota mountain,—a famous place of pilgrimage in the hills to the north of Jammu. On Maha-Singh's approach, the principal inhabitants of the capital went out to meet him with large presents, but this did not satisfy him, and the place was plundered and sacked. The whole country around was also laid waste, which resulted in a destructive famine throughout the State. An enormous amount of booty of all kinds was carried away, amounting, according to one authority, to two crores of rupees.[2]

The invasion of Jammu[3] seems to have been going on while Forster was there, and the country was being plundered

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[1] Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pages 342-3.

[2] Prinsep, *History of the Punjab, Volume I*, pages 245-6-7.

[3] Forster, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 286-*ff*.

and laid waste. Forster has the following reference : "It appears that Jumbo continued to increase its power and commerce until the year 1770 (1781), the period of Ranzeid-Dev's death, when one of his sons, the present Chief (Brajraj-Dev), contrary to the intention and express will of his father, seized on the government, put to death one of his brothers, the intended successor, and imprisoned another, who having made his escape, sought the protection of the Sicques. Pleased in having obtained so favourable a pretext for entering Jumbo, which they attempted in vain during the administration of Ranzeid-Dev, the Sicques promised to espouse the fugitive's cause with vigour. A small sum had been annually exacted by them from Jumbo, but in a much less proportion than what was levied in the adjacent territories. The Sicques, indeed, aware of the respectable state of the Jumbo force, and the ability of the Chief, were contented with the name of tribute."

"The most valuable division of the Jumbo districts lay in the plain country, forming part of the Northern Punjab, which, under pretence of affording assistance to the persons who lately sought their protection, a body of Sicques have laid waste. They are now prosecuting a vigorous war against the present Chief, who through the defection of many of his people, driven by oppressions to the party of his brother, became unable to make any effectual stand ; and, that his ill-fortune might be complete, he called in to his aid a party of Sicque mercenaries commanded by Maha-Singh, a powerful officer in that quarter, who has firmly established his authority at Jumbo, and has erected a fort at the south entrance of the principal pass leading into the Punjab. For defraying the expense incurred by the Sicque troops the Jumbo Chief had made rigorous demands on the native inhabitants of the city, and is now throwing an eye on the foreign merchants, who dreading his disposition and necessities have taken a general alarm."

According to Forster the State at that time included the whole mountain area northward to the river Chinab where it bordered with Kashtwar and Bhadrawah, then under Chamba. Chanehni and Bhoti were dependent and tributary. To the east the States of Mankot, Basohli and Bhadu were also dependent, though Jasrota seems still to have been separate, and Samba had long been incorporated in the State. The revenue was then about five lakhs of rupees.

In 1786-7 Jammu was again invaded by the Bhangi-Sikhs, and Brajraj-Dev was killed in battle. He was succeeded by his son, Sampuran-Dev, a minor, only one year old.

Sampuran-Dev, A.D. 1787.—The Raja being a minor the administration was in the hands of Mian Mota, eldest son of Surat-Singh, the next youngest brother of Ranjit-Dev.

From Brajraj-Dev's reign the State became completely subject and tributary to the Sikhs, the sum payable yearly being Rs. 30,000. At the same time it would appear that the Duranis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the Hill States. Sampuran-Dev's name occurs in a *Sanad* to Raja Jit-Singh of Chamba from Shah-Zaman of Kabul, dated in January 1797, in which Jit-Singh is enjoined "to perform the services of the Diwani (Civil Justice and Revenue) in conjunction with Sampuran-Dev of Jammu."[1]

Sampuran Dev died in 1797 at the age of about 12 years, and was succeeded by Jit-Singh, son of Dalel-Singh, to whom reference has already been made.

Jit-Dev, A.D. 1797.—In 1800-1 Maharaja Ranjit-Singh obtained the sovereignty of the Panjab, and in the same year he advanced to Jammu, but retired on the Raja's tendering his submission and presenting the customary tribute. From this time the State became entirely subject to Lahore, and there is no further mention of it in the records till 1809-10, when a Sikh force was sent into the hills to suppress an outbreak headed by one Mian Dedu. This man was a member of a branch of the ruling family, but the cause of the outbreak is obscure. He seems to have been a brave and fearless man, and he had gathered around him a band of men like himself, who lived by plunder. For years he was the terror of the Jammu hills, and his name still lives in local tradition. To the poor he was kind and generous, and his hostility seems to have been directed chiefly against the Sikhs. He was in fact a freebooter, and many interesting stories of his exploits have been preserved. To Ranjit-Singh he evidently bore no good will. It is related that soon after the conquest of Kashmir in 1819, baskets of the luscious fruits of the valley were on their way down to Lahore through the hills, and fell into his hands. Mian Dedu had the baskets emptied of their contents and filled them with cowdung instead, and then closed them up and

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 72, c. 46.

sent them on. One can imagine Ranjit-Singh's anger and disgust on finding how he had been fooled. Mian Dedu was finally killed in 1820, in an engagement with a force sent against him. In 1812 Jammu was assigned in *jagir* to Prince Kharak-Singh, son of the Maharaja, and Raja Jit-Dev was then probably deposed from his position as ruler, but Sir Lepel Griffin gives 1816 as the date of the final subversion of the State and its annexation to the Sikh Kingdom. Jit-Dev had probably died previous to this, and his two sons, Raghbir-Dev and Devi-Singh, were conveyed to British territory, and after the annexation of the Panjab they were assigned a *jagir* at Akhrota near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur District, where their descendants still reside.

The later history of Jammu is linked with the names of three brothers, forming a junior branch of the Jamwal family, and descended from Surat-Singh, the third brother of Ranjit-Dev. These were :—Gulab-Singh, Dhian-Singh and Suchet-Singh. The Sikh Court was at that time the resort of all aspirants to fame, fortune and advancement, and, having few prospects in Jammu, Gulab-Singh retired to Lahore about 1810-12, and entered the Sikh army. He had, previously, been in the service of the Rajas of Rajauri and Kashtwar. Being a young man of ability and address as well as handsome in person, he soon attracted the attention of Ranjit-Singh, and was advanced to a higher command. He then called his two brothers from Jammu, and they too enrolled themselves in the Sikh army.

Maharaja Gulab-Singh's character has been portrayed in different colours by those who have written of him. M. Jacquemont, who visited him in his hill principality in 1831, described him as about forty, very handsome, a lion in courage, but with the plainest, mildest and most elegant manners. Prinsep and other writers of the time draw a darker picture. Perhaps on the whole we may accept Mr. Drew's estimate as fair and just without being extreme. It is as follows :[1]—" Gulab-Singh had some qualities which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration.

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[1] *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 15. There is a doubt as to which of the brothers went first to Lahore. Prinsep says it was Dhian-Singh.

With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* any one could get his ear, even in a crowd one would catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out, '*Maharaj, arz hai*' that is 'Your Highness, a petition.' He would pounce down on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man, after this fashion, making a complaint, when the Maharaja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, 'No, first hear what I have to say.' Even this did not go beyond his patience, he waited till the man had told his tale and opened his hand, then taking the money he gave orders about the case."

"The rise from low station to high position did not spoil him, that is, he did not become stuck up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity, indeed he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes, and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler, otherwise respected, goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhalmansai*, which may be translated *bonhomie*. This is the more noteworthy, as those faults he was free from, are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank."

The story of Raja Dhian-Singh's advancement, as told by Prinsep, is as follows :[1]—"While Ranjit-Singh was reviewing his troops he observed by the side of his elephant a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse. The beauty of the young man (then about twenty-five) as well as his skill and bold carriage struck him, and the replies made to his questions confirmed his good opinion. Ranjit took Dhian into his household, made him first porter to the palace, then *deorhiwala* (lord of the privy chamber) and ultimately Prime Minister; in which capacity he amassed enormous wealth, became master of a large mountainous country on the borders of Kashmir, studded with hill forts, maintaining an army of 25,000 men and a fine artillery. He has been described as a fine-looking man, and, though slightly lame, of noble presence, rather above the usual height, with quick and intelligent eye, lofty, handsome forehead and aquiline features, modest and unassuming in his speech and deportment, polite and affable in his manners. He not only acquired Ranjit's confidence, but possessed great

[1] Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Volume II, pages 202-3-4.

influence over the Sikh nation. At the darbar he stood, or sat upon the ground, behind his master, while others, though his inferiors, occupied chairs."

Raja Suchet-Singh, the third brother, was a courtier and a gallant soldier, whose life was spent mostly in the field. He had little predilection for diplomacy and political affairs, in which he seldom intermeddled. He also enjoyed Maharaja Ranjit-Singh's favour, and became wealthy and powerful, but did not rise to the same eminence as his brothers.

Gulab-Singh having gained the favour of the Maharaja rose rapidly, and obtained the command of a troop. He was employed chiefly in suppressing risings in the hills around Jammu and west of the Chinab. In 1819 a Sikh force was organized against the Raja of Rajauri, the command of which was conferred on Gulab-Singh. He succeeded in overrunning the country and capturing the Raja, whom he brought in a prisoner. In the following year Kashtwar was acquired by him for the Sikhs, and the Raja, who had been invited down to Doda within his own territory, was made a prisoner and sent on to Lahore. He had given mortal offence to Ranjit-Singh by affording an asylum to Shah Shuja, the *ex*-Amir of Kabul, after his escape from Lahore, in 1815,—an act which could not be forgiven.[1] Gulab-Singh had served under both of these Rajas before going to Lahore, but the times had changed and the servant had now become master.[1]

For these and other similar services the principality of Jammu was conferred upon him as a fief about 1820, and he was made a Raja and entrusted with the government of the Jammu hills.

About the same time the title of "Raja" was bestowed on Dhian-Singh and Suchet-Singh, and to the former was granted the principality of Punch, from which the old line of Rajas had recently been expelled. Suchet-Singh received the State of Bandralta, now Ramnagar, which had also recently come into the hands of the Sikhs.

While Gulab-Singh and Suchet-Singh were thus actively engaged in military operations in the hills, Dhian-Singh spent all his time at Court in the discharge of his official duties and also in advancing and safeguarding the interests

[1] Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 181-2.

of the family. In 1818 he had, as already stated, been appointed to the office of *deorhiwala* or chamberlain, a position of great importance, as it rested chiefly with him to grant admission to the Maharaja's presence.

From this time his rise was steady and rapid, with an increasing measure of political influence which was utilized to advance the interests of the family. In 1828 he became prime minister of the Sikh kingdom,—an office which he continued to hold till his death in 1843.

About the same time (1828) Hira-Singh, his eldest son, then a boy of twelve years, was also created a Raja, and soon afterwards (1834) the principality of Jasrota was granted him. He had been introduced at Court, and the Maharaja had taken a great fancy to him, seldom suffering him out of his sight, and delighting in honouring all his caprices.

With the rise of the three Jammu brothers to power the smaller States between the Ravi and the Chinab lost all autonomy, and became completely subject. Kashtwar and Mankot were the first to fall, in 1820. The Mankotia Raja seems to have submitted quietly to his fate, but the Raja of Kashtwar appealed to Ranjit-Singh. All was in vain, and three years later he was poisoned by his own servant.

About 1822 Bandralta and Chanehni were subverted and annexed. The former seems to have been yielded up by its Chief without any protest. In the case of Chanehni the Raja went to Lahore, and on appealing to the Maharaja he was granted permission to reside in his own State in the enjoyment of a *jagir*. The smaller States around Jammu, such as Riasi, Samba and Dalpatpur, must have been annexed at an earlier date—Aknur was subdued in 1812.

Bandralta was granted in fief to Raja Suchet-Singh, soon after the old line of Rajas was expelled. Jasrota managed to maintain its existence as a State till 1834, Basohli till 1836, and Bhadu till about 1841. Lakhanpur had probably been annexed by the Mughals in Akbar's reign, and afterwards was held by Jasrota and Basohli in turn; and finally towards the end of the eighteenth century it was seized by Nurpur. With the annexation of that State in 1816 it came directly under the Sikhs. Bhoti or Krimchi was annexed in 1836. To the west of the Chinab, the State of Punch had been overthrown in 1819, and was granted in

fief to Raja Dhian-Singh about 1822. The last ruling Raja of Bhimbar, including Naushahra, named Sultan-Khan, made a brave resistance against the Sikhs in 1810-12, but was overpowered and imprisoned for seven years in Lahore.[1] He was then set at liberty and assisted Ranjit-Singh in the invasion of Kashmir in 1819, and was afterwards killed in Jammu. His nephew succeeded to the chiefship, but was dispossessed by Raja Gulab-Singh in 1840, and retired to British territory in 1847 on a pension. The present head of the family is Senior Viceregal Darbari in the Gujrat District. Members of the family have served Government with great distinction, both in the army and in civil employ.

The Rajauri Chiefs continued to rule their State in subjection to the Sikhs till 1846, but on the cession of the alpine Panjab to Maharaja Gulab-Singh, the reigning Chief elected to reside in British territory on a pension, his State having been included in the transfer to Jammu. The head of this family resides at Rihlu, in the Kangra District, and a junior Branch at Wazirabad. Many members of the family are in Government service.

Khari Khariali on the Jehlam was invaded and conquered in 1810, and a *jagir* was assigned to the ruling family in Jammu, a smaller property being afterwards granted in British territory. The family resides in the Gujrat District, and many members of it are in the Indian Army. Kotli was annexed in 1815.

From about 1825, the three Jammu princes seem to have dominated the hill tracts between the Ravi and the Jehlam. Raja Gulab-Singh exercised the chief authority, being virtually governor of the hills, and the central tracts around Jammu and in the Chinab Valley were all under his control. From Bandralta (Ramnagar) Raja Suchet-Singh ruled over the country to the east of Jammu, including Samba, Chanehni, Mankot (Ramkot) and Bhadu. Jasrota and Basohli were in the fief of Raja Hira-Singh, the eldest son of Raja Dhian-Singh. Raja Dhian-Singh himself seems to have controlled the entire tract between the Chinab and the Jehlam.

Raja Dhian-Singh and Raja Hira-Singh resided chiefly at the Sikh Court, and Raja Suchet-Singh was engaged in

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[1] *Cf.* Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 239.

military expeditions. In consequence of this, and under a compact with his brothers, Raja Gulab-Singh had the control of all the family possessions and exercised the chief authority. He thus came to be considered, after Ranjit-Singh, the greatest Chief in the Panjab. Nominally these conquests and annexations were made in the name of the Sikhs and as extensions of the kingdom of Lahore, but in reality Raja Gulab-Singh was practically independent.

Having become *de facto* ruler of all the hill country between the Ravi and the Chinab, he sought to still further extend his power to the north. Various free lances had been attracted to his court in the hope of employment, and amongst them was Zorawar-Singh Kahluria, a son of the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur). He was taken into service and appointed to the charge of Kashtwar and the countries to the east of Kashmir. Zorawar-Singh was imbued with the spirit of his master, to whom he was absolutely faithful; and it was probably on his suggestion that the conquest of the Indus Valley was undertaken.

It is said that Raja Gulab-Singh first made private enquiries as to the attitude of the East India Company in the matter, and was told that no objection would be made. In fact the Government at that time probably knew little about Ladakh and were not politically interested in its fate. The Sikh kingdom lay between it and British territory, of which the Satluj was then the boundary, and Mr. Moorcroft was almost the only European who had visited the country. At that time Ladakh was ruled by a Tibetan king residing in Leh, where the old palace may still be seen. Lower down the Indus Valley was the kingdom of Baltistan, with the capital at Skardo.

As Kashmir was held by the Sikhs the Dogra Army could not advance by that route, and it was therefore decided to start from Kashtwar.[1] Accordingly in 1834 a force of 10,000 men was placed under the command of Zorawar-Singh, which ascended the Maru-Wardwan Valley and crossed the passes of the Western Himalaya into Suru. The Dogras were opposed at many points beyond Suru by the Ladakhis, (but unsuccessfully), and advanced to Leh, and ultimately the king of Ladakh was deposed and the country annexed.

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[1] Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, pages 137 to 153,

Padar,[1] a small province of Chamba, in the Chinab valley, was also annexed about the same time (1836) and added to Jammu.

In 1840-41 Baltistan[2] was in a similar way invaded and conquered, the Raja, Ahmad Shah, being sent as a prisoner to Kashtwar, where he is said to have died.

In 1841 Zorawar-Singh conceived the bold design of conquering Eastern Tibet,[3] and in this he would probably have been successful if the expedition had started at the proper time of year. At that time, as we know, the conquest of Tibet was much talked about in Lahore, and a force was sent into the Kangra hills to prepare the way for an advance through Kulu, by capturing the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh in Mandi. This may possibly have led Raja Gulab-Singh to hurry on his own expedition. The Dogra army was composed of 10,000 men, and it assembled at Leh. In those lofty regions, at 14,000 feet and upwards above sea-level, there are only three or four months in summer that are suitable for mountain warfare, and the Dogra army did not leave Leh till October, when the favourable season was nearly over. At so late a time of the year it was madness to attempt such an enterprise.

The Tibetans fell back before the invaders, well knowing that every day's delay was in their favour. Soon the winter set in with snow and intense cold, to which they were accustomed, but which the Dogras could not bear up against. They became benumbed and helpless. At length on 10th December the Tibetan army gave battle, and in two days' fighting all was over. The battle took place on a plain 15,000 feet above the sea. The cold was extreme, and hail and snow had fallen during the night. The Dogras suffered severely, and many died from cold. On 12th December Zorawar-Singh was wounded in the right shoulder, but he changed his sword to the left hand and fought on. At last a rush was made by the Tibetans on the Dogra trenches, and Zorawar-Singh was killed by a spear-thrust in the breast. Their leader being dead, the Dogra army broke up and fled, but only about a thousand reached Leh. The rest were either taken prisoners or died from exposure. We have heard it said that the upper part of Zorawar-Singh's skull is still used as a bowl in one of the Tibetan Monas-

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 105.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume II, page 195 *et seq.* Also *History of Western Tibet*, page 154.

[3] Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, pages 161, 2, 3, 4.

teries. The prisoners were on the whole kindly treated, and after a time set at liberty. This was the last great military enterprise undertaken by Raja Gulab-Singh, for he was soon afterwards confronted with events of the gravest character nearer home.

Maharaja Ranjit-Singh died in 1839, and when his strong personality was removed the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. All power gradually passed into the hands of the army, which was personified under the name of *Khalsa.* Raja Kharak-Singh, son of the great Maharaja, was deposed after a reign of only a few months, and died a year later, in November 1840. His only son, Nau-Nihal-Singh, who had been on bad terms with his father, was killed along with Udham-Singh, eldest son of Raja Gulab-Singh, on his way back from his father's funeral, by a mass of masonry falling on him as he passed under one of the arched gateways of the Lahore fort.

Sher-Singh, a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, was then raised to the throne, but was assassinated on 15th September 1843, and a few hours later, Raja Dhian-Singh, the minister, met the same fate. He and Sher-Singh had conspired against each other, and their common enemies, the Sindhianwala Sardars, destroyed them both. Dalip-Singh, another reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, was then installed as Maharaja, with Raja Hira-Singh, son of the murdered minister, as prime minister.

There was, however, a party in the kingdom who encouraged Raja Suchet-Singh[1] to aspire to the office of minister, and he also had the support of a section of the *Khalsa.* This caused intense feeling between him and his nephew, Hira Singh.

On the invitation of those who favoured his claim, Suchet-Singh came down from the hills to Lahore on 26th March 1844. His friends, however, all failed him, and next morning he found himself, with only forty-five followers, opposed to a large portion of the Sikh army, under Hira-Singh, numbering 20,000 men and 56 guns.

Even then his dauntless courage did not forsake him, and refusing to flee, he and his brave band of heroes charged, sword in hand, into the midst of their foes, and perished to a man. Hira-Singh is said to have shed tears on viewing

[1] Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, page 259. Also *cf.* Latif. *History of the Punjab*, pages 525-6.

his uncle's body, and well he might for his own end was also near. On hearing of his death, Suchet-Singh's *ranis* in Ramnagar placed his turban before them on the pyre and became *sati*. He died childless, and his fief was merged in Jammu. He had done much to improve the town of Ramnagar, by the erection of new bazars and also a baronial palace for himself which is still in good order.

In December 1844 a conspiracy was hatched against Raja Hira-Singh,[1] and the army was won over against him. He fled from Lahore along with Pandit Jalla, his chief adviser, and Sohan-Singh, second son of Raja Gulab-Singh ; but they were soon overtaken and slain. Hira-Singh also died without a male heir, and was succeeded in Punch by his younger brother, Jawahir-Singh ; while his fiefs of Jasrota and Basohli became a part of Jammu State.

Jasrota Fort had been used as a place of deposit for all the valuables of the family, and on hearing of the death of Hira-Singh, Jawahir-Singh at once set out for the purpose of transferring everything to Jammu. This he partly succeeded in doing.

A force of 10,000 men was then sent by the leaders of the *Khalsa* to capture Jammu, in the hope of recovering a large amount of the plunder. Raja Gulab-Singh, however, removed all the valuables to a strong fort in the interior of the mountains, probably Riasi, and then entrenched himself at Jammu. On the arrival of the Sikh army he negotiated both with the commander and directly with the troops, and in this way succeeded in buying them off with the promise of a large sum of money. To this they agreed, and a party of troops was afterwards sent to receive the payment. But on their way down to Lahore they were set upon by a company of hillmen, who retook all the treasure and almost destroyed the force.

An attack was then made by the Sikhs on Raja Gulab-Singh's force, which was repulsed, and many of the Sikh soldiers entered his service. The remainder of the Sikh force retreated to Lahore, pursued by the Dogras. There an accommodation was arrived at and peace was restored.

This was the last occasion on which a hostile army advanced against Jammu.

[1] Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pages 529-30-31.

The Sikh army had now arrogated to itself supreme power in the State. The highest officers held their appointments only at the will of the *Khalsa*, which made known its decisions through delegates, five in number, from each corps. There was no one of sufficient influence to exercise any effective control, and the soldiery were restrained solely by frequent largesses, which only tended to make them the more rapacious. The treasury was empty, and the resources of the kingdom were well-nigh exhausted.

The queen-mother, who had been appointed regent, along with her advisers, fully realised the danger and took steps to meet it. These were of a desperate character, in keeping with the condition of affairs for which they were designed as a remedy. With the connivance of the minister, Raja Lal-Singh, and other officials, the *rani* planned to hurl the *Khalsa* against the British, in the hope that after its destruction a more stable form of government might be secured.

False reports were circulated that the British Government was preparing for an invasion of the Panjab, and the fact that British troops were then being moved towards the frontier on the Satluj, as a precautionary measure, helped to lend colour to these reports. Forged letters from Sikh officers on the southern frontier were read to the soldiers, containing complaints of British high-handedness and aggression, and everything was done to inflame their passions and stimulate their martial ardour.

This was not difficult to do. Trained under European officers, chiefly French and Italian, in the time of Ranjit-Singh, the *Khalsa* had been transformed from a rabble into a well-disciplined army, whose prowess had already been proved on many a hard-fought field. The sepoys believed themselves to be more than a match for the British, and boasted of the spoils which they hoped to secure from the conquest of India.

On 17th November 1845 a final meeting of the army delegates was convened, at which the proposal to invade British territory was deliberately made. It was received with acclamation by the soldiers and accepted by the Sikh Government, and preparations were at once begun for war.

By 13th December 1845 the Sikh army had crossed the Satluj, then the boundary, and in four fierce and sanguinary battles they well sustained their national renown. How

near they were to achieving a great success is recorded on the page of history. At the battle of Sobraon, on 10th February 1846, they were finally defeated with great slaughter, and the victors, led by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, then advanced to Lahore to dictate terms of peace.

While these events were in progress, Raja Gulab-Singh kept aloof in Jammu, but, on the defeat of the Sikh army, he came down to Lahore to play a leading part in the negotiations, as the chief representative of the Sikh Government.

The British Government demanded the cession in perpetuity of the Jalandhar Doab, that is, the country between the Satluj and the Bias, and one million and-a-half sterling as war indemnity.[1] The cession of territory was at once agreed to, but the Sikh Government, being unable to pay the whole indemnity, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country, between the Bias and the Indus, as the equivalent of one million, and promised to give the balance in cash.

This treaty was concluded on 9th March 1846, and on the 11th of the same month a supplementary treaty was signed, providing for the rights of the dispossessed Chiefs and others within the ceded territories. It was further agreed that in consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab-Singh, in restoring friendly relations between the two powers, he should be recognized in independent sovereignty of such territories in the hills as might be made over to him.

Accordingly a separate treaty was concluded on 16th March 1846 between the British Government and Raja Gulab-Singh, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Ravi and the Indus, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, on his stipulating to pay £750,000 to the Government. He was also to tender, as yearly tribute, one horse, twelve shawl-goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls, in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government, to which he was in future to owe allegiance.[2]

The extensive territories thus transferred to Raja Gulab-Singh included the whole of the outer hills between the Ravi

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[1] A crore and-a-half of rupees.

[2] *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, 1863, Volume II. Also *cf. A History of the Sikhs*, by Cunningham, edited by Garrett, 1915, pages 308-09 and 317-18-19-20.

and the Indus, the valley of Kashmir, also Ladakh or Western Tibet with Gilgit, Baltistan and the Indus Valley down to Chilas.

In making over these territories, the Government imposed upon Raja Gulab-Singh the obligations which had already been accepted, as regards the rights of the dispossessed Hill Chiefs. In fulfilment of these obligations an agreement was made between Raja Gulab-Singh and the Chiefs, under the guarantee of the British Government, by which cash allowances, amounting to Rs. 62,300 per annum, were assigned in perpetuity to the dispossessed Chiefs of the Dugar group of States, between the Ravi and the Jehlam. They were at the same time given the option of remaining in or leaving Jammu territory, and most of them chose the latter alternative. Those who did so were the Rajas of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Khari Khariali, west of the Chinab, and of Jasrota, Mankot, Ramnagar, Basohli, Bhadu and Kashtwar, between the Ravi and the Chinab. The British Government then became responsible for the payment of their annuities, and, to provide for these, certain lands belonging to Raja Gulab-Singh near Pathankot and on the Bias, valued at Rs. 42,800, were ceded by him in perpetuity. The Chiefs who elected to remain in Jammu territory were to receive their allowances direct from the Jammu State. The Khakha-Bamba Chiefs of the Upper Jehlam Valley, below Kashmir, also came to a private arrangement with Raja Gulab-Singh and were confirmed in their *jagirs*, under subjection to Jammu. Regret has often been expressed that Kashmir was thus lost by our own act, when it was wholly within our grasp. It is easy to be wise after the event, but at the time of transfer there was no one who imagined that within three years the Panjab would become a British Province. On the contrary, the transfer of the hill tracts to Raja Gulab-Singh was regarded at the time as a masterly stroke of policy ; at once weakening the Sikh kingdom, and setting up another power, friendly and subordinate to the British Government, on the most vulnerable frontier of the Empire.

That the transfer was regarded in this light is clear from the following letter, addressed by the Governor-General to Queen Victoria, and dated 18th February 1846 :[1] " The territory which it is proposed should be ceded in perpetuity to Your Majesty is a fine district between the Rivers Satluj

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[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Volume II, pages 73-4.

and Bias, throwing our frontier forward, within 30 miles of British territory in front of Loodiana; which relatively with Ferozepore is so weak, that it appeared desirable to the Governor-General to improve our frontier on its weakest side, to curb the Sikhs by an easy approach towards Amritsar, across the Bias river, instead of the Satluj, to round off our hill possessions near Simla, to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself to be too strong, and to show to all Asia, that although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. For the same political and military reason, the Governor-General hopes to be able, before the negotiations are closed, to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gholab-Singh, declaring the Rajpoot Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains. The Sikhs declare their inability to pay the indemnity of one million and-a-half, and will probably offer Cashmere as an equivalent. In this case if Gholab-Singh pays the money demanded for the expenses of the war, the district of Cashmere will be ceded by the British to him, and the Rajah become one of the Princes of Hindustan."

In Kashmir the transfer was not carried out without difficulty, as the Sikh Governor refused to yield up his trust, and a force had to be sent against him.

Soon afterwards the treaty was modified as regards the boundary on the Ravi.[1] This river divides Chamba State into two portions, and a question arose as to whether the whole State was included in the transfer, or only the portion to the west of the Ravi. The Raja of Chamba also objected to being subject to Jammu. Ultimately an arrangement was come to whereby Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawah, for which it held a *sanad* from Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, in lieu of the territory to the west of the Ravi: and Government exchanged Lakhanpur and Chandgraon, then a portion of Nurpur, for the eastern portion. The State was thus freed entirely from Jammu, and came directly under British control.

There was also a change on the Indus.[2] At the time of the transfer the Hazara Chiefs were all in revolt against the

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer* page 108.

[2] *Hazara Gazetteer* pages 134-5-6.

Sikhs, and they refused to yield submission to Raja Gulab-Singh. Becoming weary of attempts to subdue them, Gulab-Singh, in the beginning of 1847, approached the Sikh Darbar in Lahore with a request to be relieved of Hazara, and expressed his willingness to accept in exchange territory of half the value, after deducting *jagirs*, anywhere else nearer Jammu. His request was acceded to, and Hazara again came under Sikh rule, the *ilaqas* of Manawar and Garhi being given in exchange. Hazara then reverted to the Sikh kingdom.

In 1848 the second Sikh War began, and the indecisive battle of Chilianwala, on 13th January 1849, claimed by both sides as a victory, was followed on 21st February by the victory of Gujrat, which crushed the Sikh power for ever. Hazara then passed under British rule by the annexation of the Panjab.

One other change has yet to be recorded. On the death of Raja Hira-Singh in 1844, his younger brother, Jawahir-Singh, became Raja of Punch. Owing, however, to the fact that the State was not recognised as independent in the treaty, it became subject to Jammu. This subordinate position was unacceptable to Jawahir-Singh and it, with other things, gave rise to strong feeling between him and his uncle, Maharaja Gulab-Singh, which lasted for some years. At length, in 1859, after Maharaja Gulab-Singh's death, a compromise was arranged, and Jawahir-Singh abdicated in favour of his brother, Raja Moti-Singh, and retired from the hills to a place beyond Ambala, on condition of receiving annually one lakh of rupees as an allowance. Raja Moti-Singh died in 1897 and was succeeded by his son, Raja Baldeo-Singh, who died in 1918, and was followed by his son, Raja Sukhdev-Singh.

In 1891, the States of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin, north of Gilgit, were conquered, and the northern frontier of the State was thus carried to the Hindu-Kush, where it meets that of Russia, while on the northern slopes of the Karakoram it marches with China.[1] On Maharaja Gulab-Singh's death in 1857, he was succeeded by his son, Maharaja Ranbir-Singh, who died in 1885 and was followed by Maharaja Sir Partap Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. The present ruler is Maharaja Sir Hari-Singh, G.C.S.I.

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[1] Vide *Where Three Empires Meet*, by Knight, 1897.

CHAPTER XV.

Offshoots from Jammu State.

The Jammu royal family gave off numerous branches in past times, which founded and ruled over separate or feudatory States, and with these we now proceed to deal in so far as the historical material at our disposal will allow. Unfortunately that material is very scanty in the case of all of these States. For our information we are chiefly indebted to the *Tarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Punjab*, by Thakur Kahn-Singh Balauria, who has been at great pains in tracing the various branches of the Jamwal clan. These were about nine in number, all of them grouped around the parent stem, *viz.*, Jasrota, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Tirikot, Samba, Aknur, and Dalpatpur. Bhoti and Bhau were also probably offshoots from Jammu at an early period. The Aknur Mians are descended from Raja Hari-Dev, A.D. 1675, and the Dalpatpur Mians from Raja Sangram-Dev, A.D. 1625.

Some of these States, as Aknur, Riasi,[1] Dalpatpur, and Bhoti, seem always to have been fiefs, whose Chiefs were only Mians,—that is, of royal descent in the second degree, and never assumed the title of 'Raja'; the others enjoyed more of a regal status.

Sir A. Cunningham included Aknur and Riasi among the Muhammadan States of the Central Group, but this is a mistake. They are now included among the Hindu States of that group. As already stated, these subordinate States were all more or less dependent on Jammu, and were under obligation for tribute and military service. The Chiefs were also bound to present themselves at the Court of their lord-paramount, and Mr. Drew tells us that, during a portion of the year, they were present at Jammu attending the Court and holding separate ones themselves. Various spots in the town are still remembered, where each of these tributary Chiefs held his Court on a minor scale. This relationship was certainly in existence from about the middle of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Ranjit-Dev, and may have been from an earlier period. The families are still extant, but few historical details are available. The larger States maintained their independence till the Sikh invasions began.

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[1] The Riasi family claim descent from the Sesodia Ranas of Chitor, now Udaipur in Rajputana.

Mankot State.

Mankot, now called Ramkot, is situated in the Dansal Dun, about half-way between Dansal and Basohli. As a State it was bounded on the north by Bandralta, on the east by Bhadu and Balor, on the south by the Karaidhar range, separating it from Samba and Jasrota, and on the west by Bhoti.

One reference to Mankot is found in the Muhammadan histories.

The ruling family is an offshoot from Jammu, and the clan name is Mankotia. They claim descent from Raja Bhuj-Dev of Jammu.

Raja Bhuj-Dev ruled about A.D. 1150, and on his death his eldest son, Bharurak-Dev, who was feeble-minded, was regarded as unfit for rule in those troublous times, and was set aside in favour of his younger brother, and settled down in the Dansal Dun. His descendant in the fifth generation, named *Manak-Dev*, conquered some villages near the present town of Ramkot, probably from the petty Chiefs, called Ranas, and built a fort which he named after himself, and made it the capital of the new State. The original name was probably Manakkot, which in time became corrupted to Mankot. This may have been about A.D. 1300. The change of name to Ramkot took place in recent times. The State was alwoys small and more or less in touch with Jammu. The early Rajas were: *Bir-Dev, Kirpal-Dev* and *Ahl-Dev.*

There were twenty-three Rajas in all from the foundation of the State to its extinction in 1820, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years to each. The names of the later Rajas were :—*Manak-Dev ; Udai-Dev ; Nagar-Dev ; Uttam-Dev ; Hari-Chand-Dev ; Ajmal-Dev ; Kalas-Dev ; Biram-Dev ; Sarwar-Dev*, and *Pratap-Dev.* Unfortunately only one of these names is known to history, *viz.*, that of Pratap-Dev.[1] In the time of Akbar he is referred to in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* as "Rai Partap of Mankot," in connection with the revolt of A.D. 1588-9, and was one of the thirteen hill Chiefs who accompanied Zain Khan Koka to court to make their submission and present valuable presents.

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[1] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 367.

In A.D. 1594-5 another serious outbreak [1] took place led by the Raja of Jasrota, and though Mankot is not mentioned in the reference in the *Akbarnamah*, yet there can be little doubt that it too was involved, and Rai Pratap may still have been in power. The outbreak was suppressed by a Mughal army under Shaikh Farid, which marched from Jammu to Jaswan, overrunning the country and reducing the hill Chiefs to obedience. From this time onwards for nearly 200 years we can find no reference in any record to Mankot, and we may conclude that the history of the State was uneventful. The Rajas who followed Rai Pratap were *Arjan-Dev; Sital-Dev; Mahipat-Dev; Dhota-Dev; Tredi-Singh; Ajmal-Dev; Dalel-Singh; Chatar-Singh; Aparab-Singh.* Like other Hill States it probably came under the control of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu in the latter half of the eighteenth century, more directly than it had previously been. How far the Sikhs succeeded in penetrating the State is uncertain, as it was in the interior of the hills, and so more out of reach of their marauding bands.

In 1783 Mr. Forster passed through Mankot. Travelling as he did in the disguise of a Muhammadan merchant, he nowhere came in contact with any of the hill Chiefs. He gives no details of his visit, beyond the fact that "a chief dependent on Jammu" resided there.

The State came under Maharaja Ranjit-Singh's control in 1809, and was annexed to the Sikh kingdom in 1820, and the ruling family then retired to Kutlehr in Kangra. A few years later it was conferred as a fief on Raja Suchet-Singh of Jammu along with Bandralta, Samba and probably Bhadu; and on his death in 1844 the territory was merged in Jammu.

After the first Sikh War and the transfer of the hills to Raja Gulab-Singh, a pension was assigned to the Mankotia family, and they fixed their residence at Salangari in the Kangra District. The last ruling Chief of the line to exercise any power was Raja Aparab-Singh. In later times Raja Balbir-Singh, the then head of the family, was an officer in the 13th Bengal Cavalry, and rendered distinguished service in the Afghan War and also in Egypt.

Jasrota State.

Jasrota State was situated in the outer Savalakhs, to the west of the Ravi and to the south of the Karaidhar

[1] *Akbarnamah*: Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 125 to 129.

Range. It was bounded on the north by that range, separating it from Basohli, Bhadu and Mankot: on the east by Lakhanpur, on the south by the plains, and on the west by Samba. The capital, also called Jasrota, is on the southern outskirts of the Karaidhar. Under its own Rajas the place was in a prosperous condition, and continued to be so till after the death of Raja Hira-Singh in 1844. It then lost its importance and fell into decay.

Owing to the fertility of the tract, being so close to the plains, Jasrota under its native rulers was a powerful State, which vied with Jammu in importance down to the time of its extinction in 1834.

As we have already stated, the Jammu royal family gave off many offshoots which in past times ruled over separate and more or less independent principalities, and of these Jasrota seems to have been the oldest. Till the beginning of the thirteenth century the parent State remained undivided, though we may assume that its rule was of a loose character in tracts distant from the centre of power, where the petty Chiefs named Rana or Thakur still held sway. About that time Raja Bhuj-Dev ruled in Jammu. He had four sons of whom the eldest was the ancestor of the Mankotia family, the second son became Raja of Jammu, and the third, named Karan-Dev, retired to the outer hills where Jasrota now stands, and probably conquered a small tract from the Ranas. There he settled and became the head of a new State, of which one of his successors made Jasrota the capital. The town had previously been founded by Jas-Dev, the Raja of Jammu, and grandson of Bhuj-Dev. From their capital the ruling family adopted the clan name of Jasrotia, in accordance with the custom of the Hill States.

Jasrota is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature, but it is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories of the time of Akbar. It seems always to have been more or less in touch with Jammu, and in the two rebellions, of which we possess a record in the *Akbarnamah* and the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, the two States acted in concert.

We may assume that the State was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century (*c.* A.D. 1200), and there were, according to the vernacular history, twenty-seven Chiefs down to 1834. Of the early history of the State we know nothing but the names of the Rajas who held power.

These were *Karan-Dev*; *Bir-Dev*; *Kalu-Dev*; *Amil-Dev*; *Balar-Dev*; *Kalas-Dev* and *Pratap-Dev*. In Pratap-Dev's reign some trouble seems to have arisen between the Raja and his younger brother, Sangram-Dev, which resulted in the division of the territory into two parts, and the founding of a new State. The capital of the new State was at Lakhanpur, and the river Ujh, a tributary of the Ravi, was fixed as the boundary on the west. A fort was erected at Lakhanpur as the residence of the Raja, and the State took its name from its capital. Another fort was erected at Thain on a cliff overlooking the Ravi, and as the Rajas seem to have resided frequently there, the State is sometimes referred to as Thain in the contemporaneous records. The ruins of these two forts may still be seen.

After Pratap-Dev followed *Jatar-Dev*; *Atar* or *Atal-Dev*; *Sultan-Dev*; *Sagat-Dev*; *Daulat-Dev* and *Bhabu-Dev*. Of these Chiefs we have no records till the reign of Bhabu-Dev, who figures prominently in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the time of Akbar, to which reference has already been made.

The whole of the Hill States had been subdued and made tributary to the Mughals early in Akbar's reign, but the hill Chiefs, so long accustomed to independence, were restless under a foreign yoke, and the two rebellions referred to seem to have been a concerted and united attempt to regain their freedom. In the 35th year of Akbar, A.D. 1588-9, a revolt took place, in which almost all the States from Jammu to Jaswan were involved. It was led by Raja Bidhi-Chand of Kangra, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1585. A strong force under Zain Khan Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent to suppress the revolt. He entered the hills at Paithan (Pathankot) and advanced eastward to the Satluj. A force was also doubtless detached towards the west, for we are told that all the dwellers in those territories became submissive, and when the Mughal Commander had successfully concluded the campaign, he was accompanied to court by thirteen of the hill Chiefs, bearing valuable presents, who tendered their submission to the Emperor. Among these we find the name of "Rai Bhabu Buzurg of Jasrota."[1] That the confederation was a powerful one is shown by the fact that they had an aggregate of 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen.

[1] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Volume II, page 367.

The subjection, however, was not complete, and in the 41st year of Akbar another revolt of a still more formidable character took place, led by Raja Bhabu of Jasrota. On this occasion also many of the States, both east and west of the Ravi, seem to have been involved. A Mughal army under Mirza Rustam Qandahari was first sent to operate against the eastern States, especially Nurpur, then ruled by Raja Basu, who had been implicated in the previous rebellion. He was besieged in the fort of Maukot for three months, and on his surrender was sent to Lahore; but before leaving he seems to have deputed his son, Suraj-Mal, to wait upon Shaikh Farid, the Commander of another army, which had advanced about the same time against Jammu.

After the capture of Jammu and other forts the Mughal army advanced eastward by Samba, where Balabhadar, the Raja of Lakhanpur, and Bhabu, the Raja of Jasrota, came in and surrendered. The latter is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife." Suraj-Mal, son of Raja Basu, also came in and tendered his submission. The army then advanced towards Jasrota where it was fiercely opposed by the sons and relatives of Bhabu, and there was much fighting.

The following reference is from the *Akbarnamah*:[1] "On reaching Samba, Bhabu the Raja of Jasruna (Jasrota) and Balidar (Balabhadar) the *Zamindar* of Lakhanpur came in. This Bhabu had been the leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife. Next day Suraj-Singh (Suraj-Mal), son of Basu, the Raja of Mau (Nurpur), came in and made his allegiance and he was placed in charge of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari, until it should be determined by the Emperor how the *Parganas* of Samba and Jasruna should be disposed of. Two *kos* from Samba a fort was built and Muhammad Khan Turkoman was sent forward to take charge of Lakhanpur."

"The army next proceeded to the village of Aliya where Bhabu was, and there encamped. This is a strong place surrounded on all sides by jungle so dense that it was difficult to pass through it. Hither the rebels and fugitives fled and hid, deeming themselves safe from all pursuit. Shaikh Farid stayed for some days at that village, and gave orders for clearing away the jungle by the axe and by fire. The soldiers were engaged in the work for several days, but were unable to clear away more than a road of

[1] *Akbarnamah*: Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 126, 7, 8.

twenty or thirty yards wide. Several of the old trees that were fit for building purposes were cut down and sent to Lahore, for use in the government buildings. Bhabu before mentioned had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm. A royal order had been given that no effort should be spared to capture him. Now that he was in the hands of the army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of Ali Muhammad."[1]

"When the army reached Jasruna (Jasrota)—the native place of Bhabu—his sons and brethren and friends gathered together and took up a strong position at a small fort on a hill. This hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom, with only one narrow way along which one or two horsemen might pass. On each side of this road there was a wall with loopholes through which muskets could be fired, and arrows shot upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach."

"At the bottom of the hill on the level ground there was a cultivated tract in which there was a fort with moats. Shaikh Farid, when he perceived these hostile preparations, determined to capture the place and punish the rebels. He first sent forward Husain Beg to attack the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open and the fort was taken. Several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun shots and arrows. Then the troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the jungle with their muskets and bows. But the valiant soldiers returned the fire and pressed on till they reached the gate. Then they set fire to the place, and the rebels fled for refuge into the jungle. All the buildings and crops were burnt."

"Husain Beg halted here and sent intelligence of his success to Shaikh Farid. An answer was returned directing him to fortify the place and stay there the night, or to leave a detachment and himself rejoin the main force. It was late in the day, the army was two *kos* distant, the way through the jungle was narrow and difficult, and the returning force might be attacked at great disadvantage, so Husain Beg resolved to rest for the night and to make his way back in the morning. All night long the enemy harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows, but according to

[1] Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, pages 126-7-8.

the plan agreed upon, each man sat behind his breastwork (*morchal*) with his shield over his head, never moving or making a noise. The night was thus passed mid a constant rain of arrows, but in the morning the forces made their way through the jungle and effected their junction safely. Husain Beg obtained great praise for his gallantry, and rewards in *inams*, money and robes were bestowed upon the officers and soldiers."

The whole reference of which we have quoted a portion is of great interest. The Mughal army on its march from Jammu evidently kept to the outer valleys of the Savalakhs by Samba, Jasrota and Lakhanpur, though detachments probably penetrated farther into the interior. No mention is made of the States in these inner valleys, *viz.*, Bhoti, Chanehni, Bandralta, Mankot, Balor and Bhadu, though they too were doubtless all involved in the rebellion. We are told that Lakhanpur was made over in *jagir* to one of the Mughal officers. Possibly the Raja was removed from power and the State annexed. The crossing of the Ravi must have taken place near Madhopur or Shahpur-Kandi.

On reaching Maukot in Nurpur, Suraj-Mal, son of Raja Basu, who was with the force, his father being still at Lahore, was told that he ought to present a suitable *nazarana* in acknowledgment of the country having been restored. Maukot was then visited by the Imperial commanders, and after the duties of hospitality had been discharged the tribute was presented, consisting of valuable horses and fine clothes. From there the Mughal army marched to Guler and Jaswan, and the revolt being at an end, Shaikh Farid was recalled to court, and reached Lahore, travelling express, in three days, and received great honours from the Emperor.

After the final subjection of the Hill States by Akbar, the States of the Jammu or Dugar area, between the Chinab and the Ravi, seem to have settled down into quiet submission, and we read of no more revolts among them in the histories of the time. When revolts in the Kangra area occurred, as in the case of Kangra and Nurpur in the time of Jahangir and Shahjahan, we read that the Chiefs of the Jammu hills were summoned to help in restoring order.

The Rajas who came after Bhabu-Dev were *Bhuj-Dev*, *Fateh-Dev*, *Taj-Dev*, *Shiv-Dev*, *Jag-Dev*, *Sikh-Dev* and *Dhrub-Dev*, but of the events of their time we possess no records.

After them followed *Kiral-Dev* and *Ratan-Dev*, of whom the latter was contemporaneous with Ranjit-Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1750).

We may assume that on the decline of Mughal power, in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani, Jasrota, like Basohli and other States, came more or less under the supremacy of Jammu, especially in the reign of Ranjit-Dev of that State. In the latter part of the century the Sikhs began their incursions into the outer hills, often, it is to be feared, on the invitation of the hill Chiefs themselves, to act as mercenaries in their mutual quarrels. Such invitations we know were given by Chamba, Basohli and Jammu, and, as Mr. Forster remarks, "after having performed the service for which they were called, they became pleased with the new situation and refused to withdraw." They were called to Chamba in 1774 and to Basohli in 1783, and Jasrota may have been invaded about the same time or even earlier, as it lay so much nearer the plains. Most probably the Sardars of the Kanheya *misl*, who held Pathankot, were the first to enter the State.

During that period the Rajas of Jasrota were *Bhag-Singh*; *Ajab or Ajib-Singh* and *Lal-Singh*, down to the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1800-1, Ranjit-Singh became Maharaja of the Panjab, and in 1808, he reduced the fort of Pathankot and then marched on Jasrota, where the ruling Chief tendered his allegiance and became tributary, after paying a large *nazarana*. Soon afterwards, with the surrender of Kangra Fort, the supremacy of the whole of the Hill States came into his hands. Desa-Singh Majithia was then appointed Nazim or Governor of the hills, and Jasrota with the neighbouring States of Basohli, Bhadu and Mankot came under his control.

At that time *Ranbir-Singh* was Raja of Jasrota, and on his death without male issue he was succeeded by *Bhuri-Singh*, his brother, who was the last ruling Chief of the line. He was entirely subject to the Sikhs and the extinction of the principality was now near at hand.

In 1828 Hira-Singh, the eldest son of the Sikh Minister, Raja Dhian-Singh, was advanced to the status of a Raja by Ranjit-Singh, though then only twelve years old, and in 1834 the State of Jasrota was conferred upon him as a fief, and the ancient line was expelled from the territory. The family now reside at Khanpur near Nagrota in Jammu and the pension is paid by Government, as the family was originally resident in British territory.

Lakhanpur State.

Lakhanpur was originally a portion of Jasrotâ State, from which it was severed in the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was bounded on the north by the Karaidhar Range separating it from Basohli, on the east by the Ravi, on the south by the plains and on the west by the Ujh river, a tributary of the Ravi.

Kalas-Dev of Jasrota who ruled about A.D. 1320 had two sons, *Partap-Dev* and *Sangram-Dev*, and after their father's death, Sangram-Dev claimed half the State. This was surrendered to him, including all the territory between the Ujh and the Ravi, with the capital at Lakhanpur, hence the name of the State. The alternative name was Thain as found in some of the records, from the name of a strong fort on a lofty cliff overhanging the right bank of the Ravi, where the Rajas seem often to have resided. The State is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories. The clan name is Lakhanpuria.

The *Vansavali* of the family does not seem to be available and few of the names of the ruling Chiefs after Sangram-Dev are known. One of them was *Balabhadar*, called Balidar, in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, who was involved in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9 in the reign of Akbar, already referred to in the history of Jasrota. He is probably also the "Raja of Lakhanpur" referred to in connection with the rebellion of A.D. 1594-5, as having come in and surrendered to Shaikh Farid at Samba, and who also received the same Mughal commander on his arrival at Lakhanpur. The State was then placed under a Mughal Amir, and a garrison was left in the fort. The reference in the *Akbar-namah* is as follows:[1]— "Having left Husain Beg there (Jasrota) with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *parganah* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkoman, and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Ravi by a ford and proceeded to the *parganah* of Pathan; next day it marched to Mu (Maukot), a *parganah* under the authority of Basu (or Nurpur)." The ford was probably one of those still used near Shahpur-Kandi.

From the above reference we are perhaps to understand that the State was over-thrown and the territory annexed, for no further mention is found in any of the records. How

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[1] Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, page 128.

long the Mughals held possession we do not know, but at a later period Lakhanpur seems to have become a bone of contention among the three neighbouring States of Jasrota, Nurpur and Basohli. Possibly what happened was that on the decline of Mughal power the tract was seized by Jasrota, but it seems also to have been for a time in the possession of Basohli. It finally fell to Nurpur in the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the time of settlement, after the first Sikh War, Lakhanpur became British territory as having been a part of Nurpur State.

After the first Sikh War the hill tracts between the Rav and the Indus, including Chamba, were made over to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, by the treaty of 16th March, 1846. The Raja of Chamba, however, represented his unwillingness to be placed under Jammu, and an arrangement was made whereby Lakhanpur was ceded to Gulab-Singh in lieu of Chamba Cis-Ravi, and is now a part of the Jasrota District in Jammu territory.

The small chiefship of Tirikot is said to have been granted in *jagir* to one of the sons of Jhojar-Dev, son of Saido, one of the early Rajas of Lakhanpur, and is still in the possession of the family, and from Malho, another son, were descended the Rajas of Samba.

Samba State.

Samba State was an offshoot from Lakhanpur, and may have been founded about A.D. 1400. Its boundaries are uncertain as it was overturned at an early period. It was situated to the east of Jammu and between that State and Jasrota, with the capital at the town of Samba.

Being practically on the plains the tract was very fertile.

Samba was originally in the possession of a local tribe, named Ghotar, of Rajput descent—now common zamindars,—and under a Chief of that tribe. Into this family married Malho or Malh-Dev, a grandson of Raja Sangram-Dev, the founder of Lakhanpur State, who after his marriage took up his residence at Samba. After a time he succeeded, with the help of a Muhammadan force, in dispossessing the Ghotar family, and made himself master of the tract, with Samba as the capital. The clan name is Sambial or Samial.

It seems doubtful if the family ever had the title of 'Raja,' and they appear to have lost all power at an early date in the reign of Akbar, probably in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9.

On the occasion of the revolt of A.D. 1588-9, Samba is not referred to, but in that of A.D. 1594-5, the Mughal army, we are told, advanced from Jammu to Samba, and there Bhabu, the Raja of Jasrota, and Balibhadar, the Raja of Lakhanpur, came in and surrendered. No mention is made of a Raja of Samba, but the disposal of the *parganas* of Samba and Jasruna (Jasrota) was referred to the Emperor, and two *kos* from Samba a fort was built. The restoration of the State seems to have been promised at a later time, in the reign of Shahjahan, but the promise was not fulfilled. It finally came under the control of Jammu in the reign of Dhrub-Dev, or later.

The Sambial royal clan is one of the largest in the hills, and members of it are found not only in Samba but throughout the hills and on the plains. Traditionally there are said to have been twenty-two *mandis*, or residential quarters, of the branches of the clan in Samba territory, and to account for these, some have said that the founder, Malh-Dev, had twenty-two sons. At present there are only eleven such *mandis*, and of these three are offshoots of older *mandis*. It is probable that from the time of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1735-81), Samba was practically a part of the Jammu State, and it continued to be so till the expulsion of the senior branch of the Jammu family, about 1816. A few years later, on the transfer of the hill tracts to the junior branch of the Jammu family, in fief by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, about 1822, Samba with other States fell to the share of Raja Suchet-Singh. He is said to have built a palace in the town, where he often resided, and on his death in 1844 some of his *ranis* there became *sati*.

Samba is now a tahsil in Jammu territory.

Bhau State.

Bhau State must not be confounded with Bahu, the original capital of Jammu State. The origin of the Bhau family is obscure, but it may have been an early offshoot from Jammu, as supposed by Thakur Kahn-Singh. The story told is that, at a very early period, a Raja of Jammu was invited to become Raja of Kashmir by the zamindars, who suffered much from the exactions of the local petty Chiefs, corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs elsewhere. Having acceded to their request for help, he sent his eldest son with an army, who conquered the petty Chiefs and afterwards became Raja of Kashmir. One of his descendants

had the name of Bhau-Dev, and from him the family took their distinctive cognomen of Bhauwal, which is the clan name.

Two generations later the Bhau family were expelled from Kashmir and retired to the outer hills, where they took up their abode at a place called Saharanpur in Jammu territory. At a still later date the head of the family removed to Kaleth, near the Chinab, which he occupied and made it the capital of a small independent State. The fort of Kaleth was built by a later Chief.

There seem to have been frequent conflicts between the State and Jammu, which was then beginning to assert supremacy over the surrounding principalities.

The State, however, was able to maintain its independence till invaded by the Sikhs in the early part of the nineteenth century, when it became tributary to Ranjit-Singh.

Finally, some time after 1820, Raja Gulab-Singh overturned and annexed the State, and granted a *jagir* to the ruling Chief, in Riasi, where the family still resides. There were in all thirty-one Chiefs, bearing the title of 'Rai,' from the time of the emigration from Kashmir till the extinction of the State. Allowing an average of twenty years the State may have been founded about the thirteenth century. The exploits of one of the later Chiefs are commemorated in song by the hill bards.

Bhoti State.

Bhoti State seems to have been an ancient principality embracing most of the tract now included in the Bhoti *ilaqa*, a part of the Udhampur tahsil of Jammu. The capital was at Krimchi about four miles north of Udhampur. The site of the former town is now waste, but there are ruins which testify to the fact that a town once stood on the spot. This is also in keeping with local tradition, which ascribes the founding of the town to one Kechak. There are also three or four large and ancient temples which are believed to date from the time when the place was inhabited. They bear signs of great antiquity. The largest of them is still in a fair state of preservation. The interior of these temples, where the idols are, is now two feet lower than the ground outside, showing an immense accumulation of debris in past times. The present village of Krimchi stands on the other side of the Delok Nala, near the fort, which is on a hillock,

but is now in ruins. Inside the fort is a large "green" and the ruins of the ancient palace, which was the residence of the Rajas.

The founder of the State is said to have been named Kechak, and from him the line is called locally the Kechaks, but who he was and whence he came is involved in uncertainty. Local tradition seems to point to the family having originally come from Kashmir. There were thirty-four Rajas in all, and allowing twenty years to a reign we may conclude that the State was founded about the twelfth century. The family is of the Surajbansi race, and by some is traced back to one Daya-Karan, son of a Jammu Chief, whose descendants are said to have ruled Kashmir, and from whom another family, the Bhau Rajputs, trace their origin. This, however, is all conjecture, and as the *Vansavali* is not forthcoming the question must be left unanswered.

Bhoti State is not referred to in any records, and may always have been more or less dependent on Jammu, as it certainly was at a later period. Of the history of the State we are ignorant; and there seem to be no sources of information available. It probably came entirely under the control of Jammu in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Bhoti came under the control of the Sikhs about the same time as Jammu, and on the transfer of the hill tracts to Raja Gulab-Singh and his two brothers, it fell completely under the former, to whom a tribute of Rs. 2,000 was paid. About 1834 the State was finally annexed and a *jagir* granted to the family.

Mr. Drew has the following reference: "Kiramchi, and the tract of country near and round it, used to be under a Raja or a Mian of the Pathial (Bhatial) tribe of Rajputs, who was tributary to Jammu, paying to it yearly 2,000 rupees and giving the services of some ten horsemen. About the year 1834 Gulab-Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort. After some time they took it and the country was annexed. What now remains of the fort is a well-built wall of sandstone and a dry tank. It is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town."

CHAPTER XVI.

Chanehni State.

Chanehni State was bounded on the north by the Chinab river, on the east by Bhadrawah, on the south by the Gaddian Dhar and Bandralta, and on the west by the Birhon Nala and Bhoti. It included two main portions, separated by the Dodhara or Ladha ka Dhar—one in the Upper Tawi Valley and the other in the Chinab Valley.

The ancient name of the country was Himta or Hiunta—meaning " the snow country," hence the clan name of Himtal or Hiuntal, adopted by the former rulers. The latter name is now contracted to Hantal.

The ruling family, which is still in possession of a portion of their territory, is of the Chandarbansi race, and is descended from the ancient royal line of Chanderi in Bandelkhand. The tradition runs that probably about the end of the ninth century the Raja of Chanderi, named Harihar-Chand, leaving one of his sons in the ancestral State came on pilgrimage to Jwalamukhi with his other four sons, named Bir-Chand, Gambir-Chand, Kabir-Chand and Sabir-Chand. In an encounter with the Raja of Kangra Harihar-Chand was killed. Sometime later his eldest son, Bir-Chand, founded the State of Kahlur or Bilaspur, and in a similar manner Kabir-Chand established himself in Kumaun, while another son, Sabir-Chand, is said to have been killed by a fall from his horse, while engaged in a game of tent-pegging. Soon after Bilaspur was founded a petty Chief of Megh caste came there from the district of Himta to solicit help of the Raja against some of the petty Chiefs around him of Rajput caste, probably Ranas, who looked down on him because he was a Megh, and probably sought to dispossess him. From this it is evident that in the Jammu hills also, as elsewhere, the Rajput States were preceded by a *Thakuraian* period or government by petty Chiefs, called Ranas and Thakurs, some of them Rajputs and others of lower castes. Raja Bir-Chand, being unable to go himself, deputed his next younger brother, Gambir-Chand, to proceed with an army to the help of the Megh Thakur, who resided at a place called Mantalai or Old Himat, some distance to the south-east of the present town of Chanehni. On arrival Gambir-Chand fought with

and overcame the Ranas and Thakurs, and the Megh Thakur then made over all his own territory also and became a subject. Thus the Chanehni State was founded.

It is interesting to note that the *Vansavalis* of Bilaspur and Chanehni fully corroborate popular tradition, for they ascribe the foundation of both States to a common ancestor, who came from Chanderi. At a later period, Hindur or Nalagarh State was founded by a cadet of the Bilaspur family, so that all three States are from a common origin.

As regards the antiquity of the State, there were forty-five Chiefs from its foundation to its overthrow in 1822, and, allowing an average reign of twenty-two years to each, we may conclude that the State was founded in the latter part of the ninth century. The capital was at a place originally called Chaka, on the right bank of the Tawi river, which was probably re-named Chanderi, and the name gradually became corrupted to Chanehni.

We unfortunately possess very little material for the subsequent history of the State, except the *Vansavali*, containing the names of the Rajas who ruled over it. It is not referred to in the Muhammadan records, nor in any contemporary documents which have come into our hands. That its history was similar to that of other Hill States seems probable, and it may have been in close association with Jammu from a comparatively early period. It certainly was so from the time of Dhrub-Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1703-35), and we find the Chanehni Rajas leading their own contingents in the wars of aggression undertaken by the Jammu chiefs.

That Chanehni was under subjection to the Mughals from the time of Akbar is also more than probable, and it may have been involved in the two outbreaks of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5, though not mentioned among the States whose Rajas tendered their allegiance and presented presents to the Emperor.

Some curious legends are associated with Chanehni. To the south-east of the capital at a distance of ten miles, and near the ancient nucleus of Mantalai, is a famous *tirtha* or place of pilgrimage, called Sudh Mahadev. It is said that in olden times a *Rakshash* or demon abode there, named Sarlu, which was very troublesome to the Devtas. They, therefore, appealed to Shiva, and he hurled his trident at the demon with such force that it not only killed him, but

pierced the earth through and through and made its appearance in *patala*, or the lower regions. This iron trident may still be seen in the temple of Sudh Mahadev, standing six feet high above the ground, with a diameter of six inches. On one occasion a Raja of Chanehni, named Ram-Chand, thirty-second in descent from Gambir-Chand, was encamped at Sudh Mahadev and wanted to test the truth of the legend. He, therefore, ordered his people to dig up the trident and the digging was continued for two days. On the third night the Raja had a vision, that on the following morning a piece of iron would fall from the top of the trident and a *saligrama*[1] would appear. Of this piece of iron he was commanded to make a sword, and he was also enjoined to worship daily the *saligrama* which should appear. He was also told that the sword would possess this special property, that it would foretell victory or defeat in time of war. If placed under all the other arms, and it came above them of itself, then victory was assured, otherwise defeat would befall the State. The Raja was also ordered to build a temple for an image of Shiva which would appear the following day.

Next morning, as foretold in the vision, a piece of iron fell from the top of the trident and an idol emerged from it, which is known as Lakshmi Damodar. A villager also came with the news that while ploughing in his field he saw an idol buried there. The Raja then commanded to stop the digging, and had a sword made from the piece of iron, and he also erected a temple for the idol found, which is known to this day as Sudh Mahadev. It is situated on the eastern border of the State, some ten miles east of Chanehni. A fire in the temple, which was first kindled by a *jogi*, named Sarup Nath, is kept continually burning, and the ashes of the *dhoni* are never removed, as it is regarded as inauspicious to do so.

The sword thus acquired remained in the possession of the Chanehni family for many generations, and by the "miracle of the sword" the Rajas were able to foretell victory or defeat in battle. Their services were much in demand on this account among the neighbouring States.

About A.D. 1760 Shamsher-Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* of Chanehni. Ahmad Shah Durani then ruled the Panjab, which had been ceded to him by the Emperor

[1] A black stone, ball-shaped, of different sizes, which is worshipped.

of Delhi in 1752. Sukh Jewan was his Governor of Kashmir, and being in revolt a force was sent against him by Ahmad Shah, about 1764, with a contingent from Ranjit-Dev of Jammu, and Shamsher-Chand was called upon to accompany the force with his contingent. The expedition was successful, and Sukh Jewan was defeated and captured. As a reward for his assistance a *jagir* was granted in Kashmir to the Chanehni Chief, which was in the possession of the State till the conquest of the valley by the Sikhs in 1819.

Another expedition is also recorded in which the Chanehni Chief bore a part. On the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani the hill Chiefs all resumed their independence and seized by force any territory of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. The Kangra State seems to have suffered most in this respect, and large portions of the territory had been either annexed to the empire or granted in *jagir* to neighbouring States. The *ilaqa* of Pathiyar near Palampur in the Kangra Valley had in this way been granted to the Raja of Chamba, and was recovered by Raja Ghamand-Chand of Kangra. As the *ilaqa* had been in the possession of Chamba for several generations it was claimed as State territory, and the Raja being a minor the queen-mother, a sister of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu, appealed to her brother for help in recapturing the fort, which was at once forthcoming.

Ranjit-Dev then summoned contingents from the other States dependent on Jammu. These were:—Shamsher-Chand of Chanehni; Azam-Chand of Mankot; Amrit-Pal of Basohli; Ratan-Dev of Jasrota and Jai-Singh of Bandralta. The command of the army was entrusted to Brajraj-Dev, son of Ranjit-Dev, and on arrival at Nurpur it was joined by Prithvi-Singh of that State and in Kangra by Gobind-Chand of Datarpur and Raj-Singh of Chamba. Raja Ghamand-Chand was encamped at Kalesari, and seeing such a muster of the opposing forces, he fled without offering battle, and the Pathiyar Fort was surrendered and the *ilaqa* restored to Chamba.[1]

Raja Shamsher-Chand is said to have come to a sad end on his way back from this expedition. The wonderful sword seems to have been credited with the victory, and Prithvi-Singh of Nurpur was keen on securing it. He secretly followed Shamsher-Chand and fell upon him unawares

[1] Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 98.

at a place called Dadand near Jandrah, while engaged in worshipping the *saligrama*. On being told of the approach of the Nurpur army, and probably knowing the purpose with which it was pursuing him, Shamsher-Chand resorted to the sword for an omen of success or failure. On its failing to rise as usual above the other arms, he knew that his end had come, and continued his *puja* till despatched by the enemy.

The Raja of Nurpur thus secured the sword which was placed in one of the temples at his capital, but has now been lost. It is said to have passed into the hands of Amrit-Pal of Basohli.

The Chanehni State attained its widest limits during the reign of Shamsher-Chand. Shamsher-Chand was succeeded by Kishor-Chand and he in turn by Tegh-Chand, who died without male heirs, leaving only a daughter whom her mother sought to be recognized as ruler. This claim was opposed by Dayal-Chand, son of Jahagar-Chand, a younger son of Shamsher-Chand. The *rani's* claim was supported by Basu, a son of Badan-Chand, who was also a younger son of Shamsher-Chand by another *rani*. The result was a contest in which Basu was killed, and Dayal-Chand then succeeded to the *gaddi*. While this strife was going on the Raja of Bhoti State laid siege to Chorgalla Fort, on the Ladha Dhar. The fort was garrisoned with only thirty Rajputs and no relief could be sent.

They held out as long as possible, but at last had to face the alternative of surrender or death. They finally determined to die rather than surrender, and throwing open the gates they charged into the midst of the enemy and slew many of them. The rest taken by surprise fled from the field. This gave rise to the popular saying, " One Himtal is worth seven Bhatials."

It must have been about this time (1783) that Mr. Forster, the traveller, passed through Chanehni, on his way from Jammu to Kashmir.[1] He has only a short note as follows :—

" Near Nagrota commence the district of Chinannee, a dependant of Jumbo, with one lac of rupees. Chinannee is a neat and populous town, situate on the brow of a hill,

[1] Forster remarks that he had to pay a rupee for crossing the river Chinab, probably at Ramban, into Kashtwar territory, by a swing bridge. Forster, *Travels*, Volume I. pages 341-59.

at the foot of which on the eastern side runs a rapid stream passing to the left." He does not seem to have been aware that this stream was the Tawi, which he crossed at Jammu. By that time the Sikhs had begun their inroads into the hills, though they may not have reached Chanehni till a later time, but it is probable that the State became entirely subject to Ranjit-Singh early in his reign.

The three Jammu princes, Gulab-Singh, Dhian-Singh and Suchet-Singh, were then rising into power. They were all advanced to the status and dignity of "Raja," about 1820-22, and Bandralta was assigned to Suchet-Singh as a fief after the ancient line of rulers had been deposed and expelled from the State. Foreseeing danger, Dayal-Chand ordered the fort of Shivgarh, on the eastern frontier, to be made ready for defence. He had assisted Raja Gulab-Singh in the attack on Kashtwar, as Vigne tells us, but this did not save him from a similar fate. Raja Suchet-Singh had gone on pilgrimage to Sudh Mahadev, and on his way back he annexed Marothi, a village on the eastern border of Chanehni. Raja Dayal-Chand becoming alarmed made preparations for defence, and Suchet-Singh, on learning this, invaded the State from Ramnagar, with the help of a Sikh force to which the Chanehni Raja could offer no resistance. Having transferred his family and valuables, with a large number of women and children of the town, to the strong fort of Shivgarh among the mountains, he hurried off to Lahore, and succeeded in gaining the favour of the Maharaja and obtained permission to remain. Meanwhile Suchet-Singh sacked the town of Chanehni and set the palace on fire.

When Raja Dayal-Chand returned from Lahore with a *farman*, addressed to Raja Gulab-Singh, for the restoration of the State, and with permission to reside in his own home, he was detained in Jammu for some months. At length on reaching his capital he found that the State had been divided into four parts. *Ilaqa* Kotla and Nagulta, on the left bank of the river Tawi, had been taken by Raja Suchet-Singh. The Batoti and Udhampur *ilaqas* had been annexed to Jammu, and Rudhar on the eastern border was given to Raja Dhian-Singh. Only Chanehni proper with Malwana *ilaqa* was left to Dayal-Chand. Later on, however, Raja Dhian-Singh restored the Rudhar *ilaqa*, which still forms a portion of the *jagir* held by the Chanehni Rajas, who continue to reside in their ancient capital in subjection to Jammu.

Mr. Vigne passed through Chanehni in 1839, but does not seem to have met the Raja. He has the following note on the town, " Chinini is a large and neat village, overlooked by the old palace, if it deserve such a name, of its legitimate Rajah. The river Tawi has its sources in the mountains to the eastward of it, and comes rattling down the ravine which conducts its stream to the foot of the eminence on which the village is built. The territories of the Chinini Rajah extended from Dodhara on the northward and southward to the village of Bari."

More fortunate than most of the other hill Chiefs of the Dugar group, the Rajas of Chanehni still have their residence in their ancient capital, and own a large part of their former patrimony, where they continue to exercise almost full authority. The Raja holds the powers of a first-class magistrate within his *jagir* ; and all the financial and political work is carried out under his orders. He is nearly related by marriage to the Jammu royal family.

CHAPTER XVII.

Bandralta State.

This State is now called Ramnagar, but the name came into use only after the tract was annexed to Jammu about a hundred years ago. As a State, Bandralta was situated to the south of Chanehni, and it was bounded on the east by Bhadrawah, on the south by Mankot, and on the west by Balwalta or Udhampur. The capital was originally called Nagar, as being the only town in the principality, and the ruling family took their clan name of Bandral from the name of the tract.

The ancestor of the family and founder of the State was a cadet of the royal house of Chamba, and from the *Vansavali* of that State we learn that Bandralta must have been founded about A.D. 1000-20. The *Vansavali* contains only twenty-one names down to the extinction of the State in 1822, giving an average of nearly forty years to each, which is very improbable. We must, therefore, conclude that many names have been omitted in copying. During the same period there are thirty-nine names in the Chamba roll of Rajas.

In the case of Bandralta also we find a tradition of a *Thakuraian* period in ancient times, and much the same reason is given for the invasion of the tract as in the case of other States, *viz.*, tyranny and oppression of their subjects by the Ranas and Thakurs. As a result some of the *zamindars* went to Chamba to ask help. Vichittar-Varman (A.D. 980-1000) was then in power, and unable to go himself, he sent his younger brother, who vanquished the Ranas and made himself ruler. A tradition is also current which throws light on the methods employed to get rid of troublesome opponents. It is to the effect that the Raja and the local Rana both availed themselves of the services of the same barber, who was bribed to cut the Rana's throat while shaving him. In this way a powerful rival was removed. Seventy-two petty Chiefs are said to have been overcome by one means or another, and the Raja then assumed the name *Bahattar* to mark the fact.

The State is not referred to in any Muhammadan histories. It was always small, and the revenue seldom exceeded a lakh of rupees. Of its subsequent history we

know almost nothing, as no records seem to be available. That it was in close touch with Jammu seems certain, at least from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was, as we know, called upon to supply contingents for the wars of that time in which Jammu was involved.

With the rise of the Sikh power in the Panjab, Bandralta came under their control like the other Hill States, and in 1822, when Suchet-Singh of Jammu was created a Raja, the tract was made over to him in fief. The ancient line was then deposed but allowed to remain for a time. This, however, was soon found to be awkward, as an attempt was made to recover the territory, and they were finally exiled from the State. They first retired to Kangra, where they resided for some time under the protection of Raja Sansar-Chand, but afterwards went to Tehri Garhwal and finally settled at Shahzadpur in the Ambala District.

The last Raja to exercise ruling power was Bhupdhar-Dev, who died at Shahzadpur. He had been assigned a pension of Rs. 3,000 by Government, which is still paid to the family.

Raja Suchet-Singh took much interest in Ramnager which received its new name after coming under his control.[1] He built a palace outside the town where he used to reside, and also a fort on the Chaugan which is still held by a garrison. On his death in Lahore in 1844, his *ranis* became *sati*, and the spot is still marked by a garden. As he died childless the fief reverted to Jammu. At a later time it was granted as a *jagir* to Raja Ram-Singh, second son of Maharaja Ranbir-Singh, and on his demise without a male heir, it again became merged in the Jammu State.

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[1] *Vide* Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 86, also Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 187, 8-9, and 190.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Basohli State.

The Balor or Basohli State, as it existed down to the early part of the nineteenth century, corresponded to the Basohli Tahsil of the Jasrota District in Jammu territory—if Bhadu and Mankot be excluded. The original capital was at Balor (Vallapura), which was the ancient name of the State, twelve miles west of Basohli, situated on a plateau overlooking the Bhini river, a tributary of the Ujh. The State was bounded on the north by Bhadrawah, on the east by Chamba and Nurpur, on the south by Lakhanpur and Jasrota, and on the west by Bhadu and Mankot.

The principal source for the history is the *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan*. The *Vansavali* unfortunately is very unreliable. Two manuscripts of this are in the possession of the *parohits* or family priests of the Rajas of Balor ; they are from the same source, but differ slightly in some of the details. Both are in the vernacular, but have evidently been rendered by an ignorant person from an original in Sanskrit, which has now been lost. The first portion of the *Vansavali*, which is mythological, is omitted in this history. It traces the descent of the Balauria Rajas from the Pandavas, and they are therefore of the Chandarbansi or Lunar race.

The vernacular history of Basohli by Thakur Kahn-Singh, a member of the Balauria royal family, has been of great assistance in the preparation of this history. To Thakur Kahn-Singh we are deeply indebted for his careful researches into the history of many of the Panjab Hill States, more specially those of the Dugar group, for which he has received recognition from Government. The results of his labours are to be found in his book, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Punjab.*

The chronology of Basohli State is very uncertain, especially in the early part of the history, and it is impossible to fix, with any approach to accuracy, the reigns of any of the Rajas previous to Daulat-Pal. Even the dates given for many of the subsequent reigns are only approximate, as the historical material at our disposal does not admit of more than this.

As already related, Kulu, Balor, Bhadu and Bhadrawah are all from one parent stem, of which the early seat was traditionally at Prayag. At a remote period the family migrated to Mayapuri (Hardwar), and a cadet founded the Kulu State. The Balor *Vansavali* claims a direct descent for the family from the parent stem at Mayapuri, but the Bhadu *Vansavali* states that the founder of Balor State was a cadet of the Kulu family. This is probably correct. At a period which we may fix as about A.D. 765 Bhog-Pal, a son of the then Raja of Kulu, set out on a career of adventure, through the outer hills, and crossing the Ravi subdued the State of a Rana, named Billo, and founded the Balor State, naming the capital after its former ruler. From it, at a later time, sprung the three small offshoots—Bhadu, Bhadrawah and Batol,—the last probably being Vartula of the *Rajatarangini*, now called Deng-Batol. It is interesting that the descendants of all these families still claim an association with Mayapuri. Deng-Batol is situated on the right bank of the Chinab above Ramban. The suffix of all these families was 'Pal.'

The Bhadu *Vansavali* relates that Kulu was the parent stem of the family, and that it was founded long anterior to Balor, possibly in the first or second century.[1] For reasons to be presently detailed we may conclude that Vallapura was founded in the eighth century. Bhadu, we know, did not become independent till the middle of the eleventh century, though it may have been a fief of Vallapura from an earlier period. Bhadrawah, too, may have been dependent on Vallapura for some time previous to its becoming an independent State, about the time of Akbar.

The first historical mention of Vallapura occurs in the *Rajatarangini* [2] in the reign of Ananta-deva of Kashmīr (A.D. 1028-63). Ananta-deva invaded Chamba, probably about A.D. 1055, deposed the ruling Raja, and set up another in his place. This expedition was most likely the result of a revolt among the hill Chiefs against Kashmir supremacy, which had been more or less in force for several centuries. On his return journey Ananta-deva seems to have gone by Vallapura, which also was evidently in revolt, and owing to his own rashness, he became involved in a difficult position, from which he was extricated by the sagacity of his

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VIII, page 287 n. and pages 537-541.

[2] *Ibid.*, Stein, trans., VII, pages 218—220.

minister, Haladhara.[1] The Raja of Vallapura at that time was, as Kalhana tells us, Kalasa, the son of Tukka, whose reign began about A.D. 1050 : and he was still in power in A.D. 1087-8 when he visited Kashmir along with several other tributary hill Chiefs in the reign of Kalasa, the son of Ananta-deva (A.D. 1063-89).[2] Kalasa, the son of Tukka, was fifteenth in succession from Bhog-Pal, the founder of the State, and, allowing twenty-two years to a reign, we conclude that the State came into existence in the first half of the eighth century.

This conclusion, however, rests on somewhat unreliable data, for there may have been more or fewer names than those now included in the *Vansavali*. Some of the names are suspicious, and others may have been dropped in the process of copying, as has undoubtedly happened at a somewhat later period. For example, between A.D. 1169 and 1590,—a period of 421 years,—the *Vansavali* has only twelve names, giving an average reign of 35 years to each Raja. This circumstance, as well as the evidence of the *Rajataringini*, makes it clear that for this period the *Vansavali* is incomplete. For the following two centuries, however, it is reliable, and contains a great deal more information. Additional data are also supplied by the Chamba archives, and by copper-plate deeds in Chamba and Balor States.

It is not known with certainty when the town of Basohli was founded. According to the *Vansavali* the change of capital from Balor was made several generations before the first historical notice in the eleventh century. This is improbable, as in the *Rajatarangini* the State is invariably referred to under the name of Vallapura (Balor). We know, moreover, from Alberuni [3] that in his time (A.D. 1017-1031), Balor was situated on the road from Kanauj to Kashmir, which seems to have followed the route through the outer hills in ancient times, as it did at a much later period. The original site of Basohli, however, is said to have been close to the right bank of the Ravi, where ancient remains still exist ; and an older town stood there in early times, where the Rajas occasionally resided, though the capital was at Vallapura. This perhaps accounts for the early mention of Basohli in the *Vansavali*, and it is confirmed by the vernacular history. The present town was founded about A.D. 1630.

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VII, 220.
[2] *Ibid.*, 588-590.
[3] Alberuni, *India*, Volume I, page 205.

An interesting reference, probably to the people of the State,[1] occurs in two Chamba copper-plate deeds of the eleventh century, relating to events which happened in the early part of the tenth century. From them we learn that about A.D. 930 Chamba was invaded by the "lord of Durgara (Jammu), assisted by the Saumatikas," evidently a people near the Chamba border; and that the allied army was defeated by Sahila-Varman, the Chamba Chief, with the help of the Rajas of Trigarta (Kangra) and Kuluta (Kulu). It seems extremely probable that the Saumatikas here referred to were the people of Sumarta or Sumata (the Sambarta of the Survey map) in Balor State; and that the name was at that early period applied to the whole State, of which Vallapura was the capital. Sumarta was afterwards included in Bhadu State, when it became independent in the eleventh century. Traditionally, however, Sumarta is said to have been a separate State from early times, and it may therefore have been the original nucleus of Balor State. The Sumaria-Rajputs, from whom possibly the place received its name, were famous for their martial qualities. These references prove that Balor (Vallapura) was in existence as an independent State, ruled by its own Raja, in the middle of the eleventh century, and probably as early as the middle of the tenth century.

The ancient capital of Vallapura,[2] as has been noted, stands on a large plateau at the foot of a brushwood-covered hill, overlooking the wide bouldery bed of the Bhini river. Ancient remains of towers and walls, that protected the place in former times, may still be seen; some towards the jungle and some at the edge of the cliff, overhanging the stream; while an old gateway stands at the top of the slope, which gave access from below. The palace, though substantially built, was not large, and shows evidence of having been erected during the Mughal period. Above the palace is a masonry tank which seems also to date back to the Mughal period. It was completely rebuilt about A.D. 1890, and is said to have contained a Nagari inscription with a date in the Sastra Era, or Lokakala, which was lost during the repairs. Balor has also a stone temple which, although in a ruinous condition, is still in use. It is dedicated to Siva under the name of Bilvakesvar or Harihar. The temple faces west, and consists of a *mandapa* or porch and a sanctum, the latter containing a stone *linga*. Of the *mandapa* only the north and

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[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 186 and 195. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 76.

[2] *Jammu and Kashmir*, by Drew, page 84.

part of the west wall are still standing. On the east side a rough low wall has been constructed of the old materials. Among them will be noticed a square slab with lotus rosettes which must have been the central portion of the ceiling. Originally the roof of the *mandapa* was supported on four pillars with plain round shafts, of which only that on the north-east side is still standing. Of the other three only the bases are now *in situ*. Nothing is known of the history of this temple. It is ascribed to the Pandavas, and is said to have been destroyed by the troops of Babar ; but according to others it collapsed some hundred-and-fifty years ago in the reign of Raja Bhupendar-Pal. It is undoubtedly of great age. The space around the temple is shaded by large banyan trees. The town is small and contains a bazar with some mean-looking shops, but the whole place has the appearance of decay.[1]

Basohli, the later capital, is near the right bank of the Ravi, and consists of a long straggling bazar, running south for nearly a mile from the palace. It, too, is in a condition of decay. The most notable feature of the place is the old palace of the Rajas—a building of excessive size as compared with their limited territory and resources, which still testifies to the prosperity they enjoyed. Its erection is ascribed to Raja Amrit-Pal (A.D. 1757-1782), and indeed the debased Indo-Mughal style of the edifice itself points to the eighteenth century as the period when it must have been built. The following description is from the pen of Mr. Vigne, who was one of the earliest European travellers to visit the place between 1835 and 1839 :—[2]

" Bissuli contains a large and slovenly-looking bazaar, and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palace of the old Rajahs, which I thought the very finest building of the kind I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and moat-like tank in front presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red-brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jammu,

[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Appendix II, pages 262—65.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 17-21,

it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower ranges, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks, which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position immensely superior."

The people themselves are also fully cognizant of the striking appearance of the royal palace at Basohli, for among them it was everywhere reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the hills.

As already stated, *Bhog-Pal* was the founder of the State, and was, therefore, the first of the Balauria Rajas. After him ruled the following Rajas, of whom we know nothing but the names: *Nag-Pal, Singh-Pal, Soj-Pal, Satyadik-Pal* and *Radhik-Pal.* A younger brother of the last Raja is said to have founded the Bhadrawah State. This may possibly mean that from an early period Bhadrawah was a fief under the suzeranity of Balor, though it did not become an independent State till a much later period. Next in succession come the names of *Laksman-Pal, Sakya-Pal, Man-Sakya* (or *Sakat*). Here an interesting note occurs in the *Vansavali* to the effect that Som-Pal, the younger brother of the last-named Raja, settled at Sumarta and became the ancestor of the Sumaria Rajputs; more or less confirming the tradition that Sumarta (or Sumata) was a separate State, and probably the original name of Balor State, and also the name of the territory of which at a later time Bhadu became the capital. Another note states that Man-Sakya himself removed the capital from Vallapura to Basohli, after having killed a Rana, named Bisu, who apparently had previously been in possession. Such traditions are found all through the hills, and tend to confirm the popular belief that the Ranas and Thakurs were everywhere the original rulers in the hills. As already suggested, the note regarding the conquest of Basohli may only mean that Man-Sakya added it to his kingdom, and founded a town on the Ravi where he occasionally resided, though the capital was at Vallapura.

The next names are: *Dev-Sakya, Bhog-Sakya* and *Apar-Sakya*, but the names ending in Sakya look suspicious.

Following them are names which we may assume to be historical, though the order in which they occur in the *Vansa-*

vali requires correction. These are : *Gunakhya* or *Gun-Rai*, *Trailokakhya* (*i.e. Trailokya*).[1] With Trailokya we reach firmer ground. Though nothing but his name is recorded in the *Vansavali*, there are two inscriptions in Churah, the northern province of Chamba State, which almost certainly refer to him. We have seen that previous to the founding of most of the Hill States the country was portioned out into small baronies under the rule of Ranas and Thakurs, who perhaps acknowledged a nominal subjection to one or other of the greater kingdoms in the hills or on the plains. Churah, the province just referred to, was originally held by many such petty rulers, and our records point to their having been subject to Vallapura before coming under the supremacy of Chamba. The records to which reference has been made consist chiefly of inscribed slabs which the Ranas erected at fountains, in memory of their deceased relations and for the sake of their bliss in the next world. In these inscriptions it was customary to mention the name and regnal year of the Raja to whom the Rana owed allegiance : and also the Sastra year in which the inscription was carved. In the Tisa and Sai *parganas* of Churah, three such slabs have been found, each bearing the name of a Raja, named Trailokya-deva. No such name occurs in the genealogical roll of the Chamba Chiefs, but we find it in that of Balor, and the conclusion seems justified that Trailokya of Vallapura is the Raja referred to.[2] The date on the most legible of the inscriptions is S. 17=A.D. 1041, and by its help the second inscription is found to be dated in S. 4=A.D. 1128-29. It is, therefore, probable that Trailokya-deva of Balor (Vallapura) ruled over Churah in the first half of the eleventh century. We may also conclude that Chamba had not then acquired any footing in Churah, which had been under the supremacy of Vallapura from an earlier period. According to the *Vansavali*, Trailokya was succeeded by his son, Kalas-Pal, who in his turn was followed by Tung-Pal. The name of Kalas-Pal occurs twice in the *Rajatarangini* where he is called " Kalasa, the son of Tukka, lord of Vallapura."[3] We must assume that the *Rajatarangini* is correct, and that a mistake has occurred in the *Vansavali* ; Tung and Tukka

[1] *Akhya* is evidently no part of the name, but must be the Sanskrit *Akhya*, meaning " an appellation," " a name," and, as the second member of a compound, " called," " named." " Trailokakhya" therefore means—" called Trailoka (or better, Trailokya).

[2] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 176-7-8.

[3] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans, VII, pages 220 and 588—90.

are doubtless the same, and this name and that of Kalasa have been reversed in copying.[1]

Trailokya probably died soon after A.D. 1041, and was succeeded by Tung or Tukka, who reigned till about A.D. 1050, and was then followed by his son, Kalasa or Kalas-Pal. It was, as we have already seen, during the reign of Kalasa (probably about A.D. 1055) that Vallapura was invaded by Ananta-deva of Kashmir. Apparently, as the result of that invasion, the State had to acknowledge the supremacy of Kashmir: for we find the same Kalasa mentioned among the hill Chiefs, who visited Srinagar in A.D. 1087-8 in the reign of Raja Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta-deva.[2] We are also told that Harsha, the son of Kalasa of Kashmir, had married a granddaughter of Raja Tukka of Vallapura, named Sugala, who tried to poison her husband when he was thrown into prison by his father, in A.D. 1088. From this it follows that Kalasa of Vallapura must have reigned in the second half of the eleventh century, probably from A.D. 1050 to 1090.

The *Rajatarangini* [3] refers to some other ancient rulers of Vallapura whose names are not found in the *Vansavali*.[4] These are: Padmaka and his son and heir-apparent,—the *Yuvaraja*, Ananda; both of whom espoused the cause of Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha of Kashmir, when he was attempting to recover the throne which had been usurped by the Lohara princes, Uchchala and Sussala; also Jajjala who supported Sussala. It therefore appears that Padmaka may have been a son or grandson of Kalasa, and Ananda and Jajjala his sons, whose names have been omitted in the process of copying. The events with which these names are associated in the *Rajatarangini* occurred in A.D. 1113 and later. These events may here be briefly detailed as throwing an interesting light on contemporaneous history.

Harsha, the son of Kalasa and grandson of Ananta-deva of Kashmir,[5] had aroused bitter feeling against himself

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[1] Bhadu State was founded by a younger brother of Tung-Pal. It had probably been a fief previous to this, with the capital at Sumarta.

[2] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VII, pages 588-90 and 685.

[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, pages 539, 542 and 547 ; *cf.* 622.

[4] In the second *Vansavali* we find the names *Karam Rai* and *Takht Rai*, between Trailokya and Kalas, almost certainly due to interpolation.

[5] Cf. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 104-5-6-7-8.

by his confiscation of temple property and his persecution of the Damaras or great landholders, many of whom he caused to be massacred. A rebellion, favoured by the Damaras, who supported the Lohara princes, Uchchala and Sussala, resulted in Harsha and his son, Bhoja, being killed, and in the accession of Uchchala to the throne. Bhikshachara, the infant son of Bhoja, was spared and was afterwards conveyed by his relative, the princess Asamati, to the court of King Naravarman of Malava (Malwa), where he was brought up and educated. Uchchala took steps to prevent his return by concluding treaties with the princes through whose territories he must pass. This precaution, however, was futile. Uchchala was murdered in A.D. 1111 and was succeeded by his brother, Sussala, but the disorder then prevailing in Kashmir encouraged the supporters of the old dynasty to invite Bhikshachara to return.[1] In A.D. 1113 he set out, while yet a boy, accompanied by Asamati and provided with arms and money by the Raja of Malwa, on the perilous undertaking of trying to recover his ancestral throne. At Kurukshetra (Thanesar) he fell in with five hill Chiefs, who were performing in company the pilgrimage to that place. Three of them—Jasata of Champa, Vajradhara of Babbapura (Durgara) and Sahajapala of Vartula (Batol ?)—were ruling Chiefs; while two others—Balha of Trigarta (Kangra) and Ananda of Vallapura (Balor)—were *Yuvarajas* or heirs-apparent and co-rulers. Bhikshachara was nearly related to the Champa Chief, being his nephew on the mother's side, and by him he was received with favour and distinction. The other Chiefs also treated him with like honour. From Kurukshetra he proceeded to Vallapura where Raja Padmaka,[2] at the instance of Ananda, the heir-apparent, and Jasata of Champa, gave him a cordial reception and bestowed on him a daughter in marriage. There he remained for some time. An attempt was made to raise troops to assist in the invasion of Kashmir, the principal coadjutor being a Thakur, named Gaya-Pala, who possibly had his residence at Mulkihar in Chamba. It failed, however, as Gaya-Pala was murdered by some of his own relatives; while Daryaka, one of Bhikshachara's chief supporters, also fell in an expedition against Gaya-Pala's murderers. Meantime the Princess Asamati died; and the funds provided by the Raja of Malwa having become exhausted, less attention was shown to the royal

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VIII, pages 537—41, 547.

[2] *Ibid.*, pages 538—542 and 547—555.

claimant, and he, therefore, retired to Champa. There he remained four or five years under the protection of Raja Jasata, his maternal uncle; but the interest in his fortunes had declined, and Kalhana tells us that he had difficulty in obtaining even food and clothing. He, therefore, left Champa and retired to Vartula, a small State on the bank of the Chinab, the ruler of which, named Denga-Pala, received him kindly and gave him a daughter in marriage.[1] There he remained for some time. In A.D. 1118, having now reached manhood, he seems to have again returned to Vallapura, and from there he was invited to Rajapuri (Rajauri) by Som-Pal (Somapala), the Raja of that place, who favoured his succession to the Kashmir throne. After many vicissitudes, Bhikshachara, in A.D. 1120, succeeded in regaining the throne, but held it only for six months, when, through his own folly, he was again driven into exile. By this time he had been entirely abandoned by the Chiefs of Champa and Vallapura, owing probably to Kashmir intrigue, and these Chiefs had made peace with Sussala, the Raja of Kashmir.[2] In A.D. 1122 Jajjala, lord of Vallapura, assisted Sussala in the defence of Srinagar, and the Kashmir Raja had inter-married with the Vallapura royal family, for one of his queens, who became *sati* with him, was a Vallapura princess. He had also married two princesses of the Champa family. The only Chief who stood by Bhikshachara to the last was Denga-Pala, his father-in-law. After many adventures he was at last, in A.D. 1130, killed by Kashmir troops in a fort at the south end of the Banihal Pass, and the war of succession came to an end.

In the reign of Raja Jaya-Sinha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-49),[3] son of Sussala, there is yet another reference to Vallapura, where it is stated that the Kashmir Raja deposed Vikrama Raja, lord of Vallapura, and replaced him by Gulhana. This event may have occurred about A.D. 1135-40, but neither of these names appears in the *Vansavali*. They may have immediately followed Padmaka and his sons.[4] These references prove that the Lohara Kings of Kashmir exercised considerable influence in Balor down to this period. But the war of succession and other causes had completely exhausted that kingdom, and we read of no more expeditions

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VIII, page 554.

[2] *Ibid.*, pages 1083—86 and 1444. Read 1083—" Udaya Brahma.and Jajjala " in Stein, trans.

[3] *Ibid.*, page 2452.

[4] *Vansavali* B mentions a Raja Vikramadit, between Kalas Rai and Ran Mal.

into the outer mountains or conflicts with the Hill States, all of which then became quite independent.

The next names in the *Vansavali* are those of *Thakan-Pal*, *Mahi-Pal* and *Arun* or *Ran-Pal*, whom we may regard as the immediate successors of Vikrama and Gulhana. The name of Arun or Ran-Pal is believed to be a corruption of Rana-Pal, and in one of the Chamba inscriptions at Devi Kothi in Churah this Raja's name is found.[1] It does not occur in the genealogical roll of Chamba, and the suffix "Pal" points to its having been the name of a Raja of Vallapura. The inscription in question is dated in A.D. 1159-60 and, as it distinctly states, was set up during the reign of Raja Lalita-Varman of Chamba (*c*. A.D. 1143-71). Lalita-Varman must, therefore, have been at that time the overlord of Churah, the province having been taken from Vallapura either by himself or one of his immediate predecessors. To account for the presence of the name of a Balauria Raja on the slab, we must suppose that Churah had been reconquered by Vallapura after Lalita-Varman's death, and the name of Rana-Pal inscribed on the slab to mark his victory, either by his own orders or by those of the local Rana in his honour. The province of Churah, as we know, was a bone of contention between Balor and Chamba for many centuries, down indeed almost to the extinction of the Balor State. Raja Rana-Pal was, therefore, only claiming what he regarded as his own, when he reasserted the supremacy of Balor over Churah. In the genealogical roll of the Balor Rajas we find the names, *Rana-Malla*, *Raja Ranal* and *Aruna-Malla*, all of which are doubtless corruptions of Rana-Pala, the name which appears on the Devi Kothi fountain slab, and he must have reigned about A.D. 1160 or a little later. Our chronological data are unfortunately too vague for us to arrive at more certain conclusions. On Rana-Pal's death he was succeeded by his son, Ajaya-Pal, the date of whose accession may have been about A.D. 1169. In the *Vansavali* he is called Aje-Pal, "son of Raja Ranul."

The name of this Raja also is found on one of the Chamba fountain slabs, erected by a Rana at Sai in Churah about A.D. 1169-70.[2] In the inscription the space for the regnal year is left vacant, which to a certain extent supports the conjecture that Ajaya-Pal was the Raja referred

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[1] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, page 508.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 232.

to in the *Vansavali* as "son of Raja Ranul." The composer of the inscription would have had no difficulty in ascertaining the year of accession of a local Chamba Raja, but the circumstance, that the exact duration of Ajaya-Pal's reign was evidently unknown to the people of Sai, points to the fact that he was an alien ruler whose capital was situated at some distance away. The author of the inscription probably failed to obtain the necessary information, and so the year of Ajaya-Pal's accession has remained a blank to the present day. If the above conclusions are correct, they afford fresh proof that at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century the Rajas of Balor exercised for some time a measure of supremacy over Churah.

Ajaya-Pal seems to have been a noted personality in his time, for the vernacular history states that he continues to be worshipped down to the present day, in much the same way as Raja Mundlik and Gugga Chauhan; and numerous *asthans* or places of worship in his honour exist in Balor.

After Ajaya-Pal there is again a long break, for which we have no reliable data beyond the names of the Rajas who ruled the State. These were:—*Prithvi-Pal*, *Mahipat-Pal*, *Hari-Pal*, *Bini-*[1] or *Vini-Pal*, *Udai-Pal*, *Sidh-Pal*, *Bhag-Pal*, *Jayarath-Pal*, *Anchan* or *Anchal-Pal* and *Bhual-Pal*. Prithvi-Pal must have ruled about A.D. 1200, and his reign is said to have lasted for fifty years. In the vernacular history it is stated that Mahipat-Pal was in power for forty years and Vini-Pal for thirty-five years. Udai-Pal is recorded to have invaded Chamba and seized some of the territory. Most likely this is a reference to a revival of the old claim of Balor to the province of Churah, which had then been in the possession of Chamba for a long time. There is, however, no record of such an invasion in the Chamba *Vansavali*. Bhag-Pal is said to have ruled for fifty-five years. These long reigns are, however, open to grave suspicion.

Daulat-Pal, c. A.D. 1500.—Daulat-Pal was the son of Bhual-Pal, and his name, meaning "wealth" in Arabic, indicates that we have now reached the period of Muhammadan ascendancy. He probably succeeded to the State in the early part of the sixteenth century. Of him it is related that he resided at Balor and in the higher mountains in summer and at Hat on the right bank of the Ravi, some distance above Basohli, in winter. At the latter place he caused to

[1] Perhaps Bidhi (Sanskrit Vidhi).

be planted extensive mango groves which still exist. He had eight sons by his *ranis* and one, a *sartora*, by a concubine. Their names were: Gajendar-Pal, Godhin-Pal, Keshab-Pal, Haibat-Pal, Biju-Pal, Masu-Pal, Mehi-Pal, Balabhadar-Pal and Hast-Pal. When Daulat-Pal became old, he seated Gajendar-Pal on the *gaddi* and gave him the *raj-tilak*, thus associating him with himself in the government of the State. To his other sons he granted *jagirs*, and the *als* or family surnames of their descendants are derived from the names of these estates. Thus to Godhin-Pal he gave the estate of Rahin, hence the family surname of Rahinyal; to Keshab-Pal he gave Jandrota, hence the surname Jandrotia; and so on with the other sons.

Gajendar-Pal, c. A.D. 1530.—It is probable that Gajendar-Pal ascended the *gaddi* about A.D. 1530, and he is said to have ruled forty years. He was, therefore, contemporary with Akbar for the latter part of his reign. He appointed his brothers, the sons of Daulat-Pal, to the dignity of Wazirs, and exercised his authority through them. He was followed by his son, Krishan-Pal.

Krishan-Pal, c. A.D. 1570.—Krishan-Pal must have succeeded to the *gaddi* in the latter part of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Akbar, and he is referred to as "Rai Krishan Balauriya" among the thirteen hill Chiefs who were subdued by Zain Khan Koka in the thirty-fifth year of Akbar (A.D. 1589-90), and appeared at Court with valuable presents.[1] In the vernacular history a story is told of him which is worth relating. On one occasion the Emperor Jahangir, accompanied by Nur Jahan Begam, came to Nurpur for sport, and all the hill Rajas were summoned to attend upon him. One day a tiger appeared and all present were frightened, but Krishan-Pal, with one stroke of his hunting spear, killed the animal. The Emperor was so pleased with this act of prowess that the title of Kher (Sher) Pal was conferred on the Raja. This story is probably fictitious or refers to a later Raja, perhaps Bhupat-Pal. Jahangir visited Nurpur in A.D. 1622. The gateway and towers which remain of the old fortifications of Balor are ascribed to Krishan-Pal. It is also said that during this reign the *ilaqa* of Shahpur-Kandi was taken from Nurpur and given to Basohli. There may be some truth in this tradition, for we know that Pathankot *pargana* was actually severed from Nurpur during the reign

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[1] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* (*Bibl. Ind.*), Volume II, page 367; and *Akbarnamá*, Cawnpore Ed., Volume III, page 390.

of Raja Basu of that State, in A.D. 1594-5, and given to Mirza Rustam Khan, Qandahari, by Akbar.[1] It comprised the country lying between the Ravi and Chakki rivers, of which Paithan (Pathankot) was the capital; and seems never to have been restored to Nurpur. Shahpur-Kandi, however, did not remain long in the possession of Balor, if it was transferred, for it was erected into a separate State in A.D. 1650, in favour of Bhau-Singh, younger son of Jagat-Singh of Nurpur. Krishan-Pal probably died about A.D. 1595 and was succeeded by Kehar-Pal.

Kehar-Pal, A.D. 1595.—Kehar-Pal's reign must have been a very short one, of three years at the most.[2] His younger brother was Jas-Pal, from whom is descended Thakur Kahn-Singh, the author of the vernacular history.

Bhupat-Pal, A.D. 1598.—According to the *Vansavali* Bhupat-Pal was the grandson of Krishan-Pal, and was born in A.D. 1573. He was an exceedingly powerful man, of great stature, and was credited with the ability to rub out the letters on a rupee with his fingers. His daily consumption of food was sixteen English seers of rice and one goat. Bhupat-Pal was a contemporary of Jagat-Singh of Nurpur who, through his influence at the Mughal Court, was seeking to gain paramount power over the surrounding States. This design he seems to have formed at an early period in his career, and before he became Raja, in A.D. 1618-9. There was therefore no love lost between him and the rulers of Chamba, Basohli and Guler.[3] Chamba was invaded by him in A.D. 1612-3, and in A.D. 1623 he conquered the State and assassinated the heir-apparent with his own hand. The State was then placed under his own officers and ruled by them for twenty years. About A.D. 1614 he seems to have tried to bring Balor also under his control. To effect this he awaited a favourable opportunity, when Bhupat-Pal was absent from Court, to traduce him to the Emperor Jahangir, who, without any inquiry, had him cast into prison. There he languished for fourteen years, during which the Balor State was entrusted to Jagat-Singh or seized by him and ruled by his officers. On recovering his liberty, about A.D.

[1] *Vide A'in-i-Akbari*, trans., page 454. Probably Pathankot was garrisoned by Imperial troops from A.D. 1594.

[2] In the vernacular history *Jas-Pal* is the father of Krishan-Pal, and *Kehar-Pal* is omitted: the name being regarded as identical with Kher (Sher) Pal—the title of Krishan-Pal, said to have been conferred by Jahangir. The letters *s* and *sh* are still pronounced as *h* and *kh* in some parts of the hills.

[3] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 88.

1627, possibly on the death of Jahangir, Bhupat-Pal returned to Balor in disguise, and took up his abode in the Bagni jungle, and waited for an opportunity to disclose his identity to his officials. This was at last done through a *chamar*, who used to make shoes for him, and who recognized him by his great stature. His kinsmen were made acquainted with the fact of his return, and an army was assembled through the agency of a man named Fateh-Jang, which defeated the Nurpur garrison and recovered the State. A letter is said still to be in the possession of Fateh-Jang's family which fixes the date of this occurrence as 10th Sawan, Vik. 1684= A.D. 1627.[1]

Having resumed his position as Raja, Bhupat-Pal made Fateh-Jang his Wazir, and soon afterwards invaded Bhadu and Bhadrawah, ruled by branches of his own family, and made them tributary. He also conquered Kashtwar and carried off the *linga* of Nilakanth, which is still worshipped at Basohli. This conquest is confirmed by the Kashtwar records which state that the invasion took place in the reign of Raja Jagat-Singh of that State, and in the time of Shahjahan. On this occasion Bhupat-Pal was accompanied by one Kantak, probably a member of the Balauria family. Jagat-Singh was defeated and killed.

On hearing of this his younger brother, Bhagwan-Singh, who was at the Mughal Court as a hostage, obtained an army from Shahjahan and drove out the Basohli troops. Kantak is said to have been killed, and his head used for football on the *chaugan*. A *mela* was instituted by the Kashtwar Chief in honour of his victory, called *Kantak Jatra*, which is still observed. During his occupation of Kashtwar, Bhupat-Pal planted "reversed cedars" which were still in existence at the time the Balor *Vansavali* was written.[2] This was probably done to commemorate his conquest.

Bhupat-Pal also invaded Chamba and seized some of the territory. This may have been a revival of the old claim over Churah or only a border raid, and it probably took place while Chamba was subject to Nurpur. Bhupat-Pal is also said to have plundered Nurpur, which may only mean that he joined the Imperial forces in one of their expeditions against that State.

Bhupat-Pal had married a Kashtwar princess after the conquest of that country, and in A.D. 1628 a son was born,

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[1] *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Punjab*, pages 54—8.

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 1, page 12.

named Sangram-Pal. Soon afterwards the present town of Basohli was founded by his orders. As has been already stated, there had been a small town of the same name in existence from ancient times, situated close to the right bank of the Ravi, near the ferry, the ruins of which may still be seen. Owing to its proximity to the river it was easy for the Nurpur marauders, who held the left bank, to cross over and plunder the place. Bhupat-Pal, therefore, gave orders that a new site should be cleared at some distance from the river, and there the new town was founded in A.D. 1630.

Bhupat-Pal had also married a Chanehni princess, and in A.D. 1633 another son was born, named Hiuntal (or Hindal-) Pal, Hiunta being the ancient name of Chanehni.

But the feud between Bhupat-Pal and Jagat-Singh of Nurpur was not at an end, and on the latter's part it must have been cherished with increased rancour, after the expulsion of his troops from Balor; and he only waited an opportunity for revenge. In the beginning of A.D. 1635 Bhupat-Pal went to Delhi to pay his respects to the Emperor, and Jagat-Singh was also present at the Court. Just about that time, so the story goes, an order had been issued by Shahjahan for the execution of one, Bhupat-Khan, which was entrusted to Jagat-Singh. Finding a good opportunity, in the similarity of the names, for carrying out his evil purpose, he killed Bhupat-Pal instead of the other, and affirmed that it had been done by mistake. The Emperor was much displeased, but Jagat-Singh's friends interceded for him and he escaped punishment. Bhupat-Pal was sixty-two years of age at the time of his death. Some of his *pattas,* or title-deeds on paper, are still extant.

Sangram-Pal, A.D. 1635.—Sangram-Pal was only seven years old at the time of his father's death, but was seated on the *gaddi,* and Fateh-Jang continued to act as Wazir. The Chronicle states that he, like his father before him, was imprisoned and even ordered to be killed, in consequence of the slander by his neighbour, Jagat-Singh of Nurpur. Quite possibly in both cases the tradition is only based on a compulsory stay of the two Balauria Rajas at Delhi as hostages, in accordance with the policy initiated by Akbar. It is explicitly stated that Sangram-Pal's imprisonment took place while he was still young.

The version in the vernacular history is to the following effect:—" When Sangram-Pal was twelve years old the

Emperor heard of his handsome appearance and summoned him to Court. This caused great perturbance in Basohli, owing to a suspicion that he, too, might be killed by Jagat-Singh; but there was no way of evading the Imperial order. Every precaution was taken against treachery. On arriving in Delhi, however, it was soon apparent that these fears were groundless. The young Raja was received with every token of favour, and had a valuable *khillat* presented to him, and much attention was shown him. The Begams in the palace heard of his beauty and expressed a wish to see him, which was granted by the Emperor. Sangram-Pal was, therefore, taken into the female apartments by Dara Shikoh. On reaching the entrance a napkin was tied over his eyes, but the Begams said that man's beauty lies in his eyes and begged to have the bandage removed, which was done. The ladies were greatly delighted with his appearance and dismissed him with rich presents. A similar story is told of Prithvi-Singh of Chamba, a contemporary of Sangram-Pal.[1] Sangram-Pal remained a year in Delhi, and on his departure for Basohli was granted title-deeds guaranteeing to him the perpetual possession of the State, with the right of adoption in the event of failure of direct heirs. These documents have now been lost.[2]

The *Vansavali* states that Sangram-Pal waged war with Kashtwar, Guler, Kahlur and Nurpur; and "plucked their realm from the Chambials." He fought twenty-two battles, in all of which he was victorious, and he married twenty-two times, but left no issue.

This is all that the *Vansavali* and the vernacular history have to tell us, but happily there are other sources of information to draw upon. We have seen that Raja Jagat-Singh of Nurpur, in the height of his power, had embarked on a policy of conquest, and sought to make himself lord-paramount, under the Mughals, over all the neighbouring States. Basohli and Chamba came wholly under his control, and it seems probable that he also sought to humble Guler, Mandi and Suket. To this we may perhaps attribute the bitter enmity that existed between him and Man-Singh of Guler. In the case of Chamba there was still greater cause for enmity, as Jagat-Singh had not only invaded and conquered the country, but had slain the heir-apparent and co-ruler, Janardan, with his own hand. In Basohli he pursued, as we have seen

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 88-9.

[2] *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan*, by Kahn-Singh, page 59.

a similar policy which, no doubt, had the support of the Mughal officials. But the hour of retribution came at last in A.D. 1641, when Jagat-Singh, in his pride, rebelled against Shahjahan. The Rajas of Chamba, Basohli and Guler were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them to settle old scores. In the Chamba Chronicle, Chamba claims the entire credit for Jagat-Singh's overthrow. In this, however, we know that neither Chamba nor Basohli played a very prominent part.

On his father's death in A.D. 1622-23, Raja Prithvi-Singh of Chamba, then a child of four, was carried away to Mandi for safety, and there he remained till 1641. On hearing of Jagat-Singh's rebellion he asked and obtained troops and money from Mandi, Kulu and probably other States, and, advancing by way of Lahul and Pangi, took the Nurpur army in flank and rear, driving them out of the State with great slaughter.[1] He then proceeded to the Mughal camp at Pathankot, and after an interview with Prince Murad Bakhsh was sent on to Lahore for an audience of the Emperor. He received a *khillat* with other honours and was ordered to return to his State and collect a force for the siege of Taragarh Fort, in which Jagat-Singh had found a last refuge after the capture of Mau and Nurpur. Being unable to raise the force unaided, Prithvi Singh applied to Sangram-Pal of Basohli for help and offered to surrender the *pargana* of Bhalai. To this Sangram-Pal agreed,[2] all the more willingly, doubtless, that he had his own wrongs to avenge. Man-Singh of Guler was also in the Mughal camp, and in the record of the campaign in the *Badshahnamah*, he is called "the mortal enemy of Jagat-Singh." On returning with the allied force, Prithvi-Singh was directed to seize and hold, in conjunction with Raja Man-Singh, a hill at the back of Taragarh, the possession of which was necessary in order to capture the fort. This having been done, Jagat-Singh's supplies were cut off, and he was compelled to surrender after a siege of three months.

We do not know the exact conditions on which the Bhalai *pargana* was ceded to Basohli, but the history of the dispute which afterwards arose regarding it, seems to point to only a temporary cession, which the Basohli Raja wanted to make permanent. Possibly Sangram-Pal may have failed to fulfil his part of the agreement about the sending of troops. At any rate Prithvi-Singh seems to have demanded a

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 91-2.

[2] As Sangram-Pal was then only fourteen years of age, the officials must have acted for him.

retrocession of the *pargana*, and on this being refused, an appeal was made in A.D. 1648 to the Imperial Court, and a delegate was sent by the Viceroy of Lahore to make an inquiry into the matter. Where this inquiry was held we are not told, but both Rajas were summoned to appear and plead their claim. Sangram-Pal failed to do so and the decision was given against him. This decision was confirmed by a *sanad* issued under the seal of Mir Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab under Aurangzeb, bearing a date corresponding to 18th March, A.D. 1666.[1] Sangram-Pal seems to have refused compliance with the first orders, and on obtaining the second *sanad* the Chamba Chief, Chhatar-Singh, son of Prithvi-Singh, took possession of Bhalai by force. By the same *sanad* the *pargana* of Bhadrawah, by which was no doubt meant the suzerainty of Bhadrawah State, was taken from Sangram-Pal and made over to Chamba. From another Persian document, undated, we learn that Sangram-Pal had built a fort in Chamba territory, which became a cause of dispute, but we do not know its nature.[2]

Sangram-Pal reigned thirty-eight years and died without issue about A.D. 1673—in the forty-fifth year of his age. He left seven *ranis*, all of whom became *sati*.

Hindal-Pal, c. A.D. 1673.—Hindal-Pal was the younger brother of Sangram-Pal, and was of mature age when he came to the *gaddi*. He reigned only for a short time, probably not more than five years, and was succeeded by his son, Kirpal-Pal.

Kirpal-Pal, c. A.D. 1678.—Kirpal-Pal married two *ranis*, the first being a Princess of Bandralta (Ramnagar) and the second of Mankot (Ramkot).[3] A *patta* or title-deed of his reign still exists in the possession of the descendants of the original grantee, and was given in S. 63=A. D. 1687. He ruled for fifteen years and died in A.D. 1693.

Dhiraj-Pal, A.D. 1693.—Dhiraj-Pal[4] was contemporary with Raja Udai-Singh of Chamba, and a document from him is extant in the Chamba archives relating to a treaty of amity and friendship entered into between himself

[1] Cf. *Catalogue of the Chamba State Museum*, pages 52 and 66, Nos. c. 1 and 2, and *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 92 and 94.

[2] *Chamba State Museum Catalogue*, page 66, *c*. 3.

[3] It was probably Kirpal-Pal who combined with Chamba and Jammu in repelling the incursions of Mirza Rezia Beg, the Mughal Viceroy. Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 94.

[4] *Chamba State Museum Catalogue*, page 66, *c*. 5.

on the one hand, and Udai-Singh and his uncle, Wazir Jai-Singh, on the other. It is dated S. 84, 21st Asuj=A.D. 1708. The *Vansavali* states that Dhiraj-Pal's personal charm was such that the daughter of Dina Beg, Viceroy of the Panjab, fell in love with him. When the Nawab in his Court ventured to mention the fact to the Raja, the latter " drew his sword and caused all present to turn pale." This story, if authentic, must have reference to some one else than the famous Nawab Adina Beg Khan, who was Viceroy at a much later date. It is of some interest as an illustration of the pretensions of the Balauria Rajas in matrimonial matters.

The treaty of friendship between Basohli and Chamba does not seem to have held good for long.[1] Raja Udai-Singh of Chamba was killed in A.D. 1720, and was succeeded by his cousin, Ugar-Singh. Soon afterwards war broke out between the two States and Dhiraj-Pal was killed in battle—probably in an attempt to reassert his sway over the *pargana* of Bhalai. The exact date of his death is not known, but it was probably about A.D. 1725. He had two sons, Medini-Pal and Ratan-Pal.

Medini-Pal, A.D. 1725.—Medini-Pal was only eight years old at the time of his father's death. He married a sister of the Raja of Guler, and his sons were Ajit-Pal and Vikram-Pal. In Vik. 1792=A.D. 1735 he invaded Chamba, defeated Ugar-Singh and re-annexed the two *parganas* of Jundh and Bhalai. This invasion finds confirmation in a document in the Chamba archives, under the seal of Adina Beg Khan, in the reign of Alamgir (1754-9).[2] It is to the effect that the *pargana* of Jundh (and probably also Bhalai), which had been withdrawn from Raja Ugar-Singh of Chamba, owing to his unfaithfulness to the Emperor, and conferred on Medini-Pal of Balor, was restored to Chamba in A.D. 1758 in the reign of Raja Ummed-Singh (A.D. 1748-64). It was, therefore, in the assertion of his rights that Medini-Pal invaded Chamba and recovered the two *parganas.* Medini-Pal reigned for eleven years and died in A.D. 1736.

Jit Pal, A.D. 1736.—Jit Pal had two sons, *viz.*, Amrit-Pal, born in 1749, and Bikram Pal, born in the same year, by different *ranis.* Jit-Pal reigned for twenty-one years

[1] Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 94-5. The rupture probably resulted from an invasion of Guler State by Jammu and Basohli during a minority. Udai-Singh of Chamba was the infant Raja's guardian, and he opposed and defeated the invading army with the help of other States.

[2] *Chamba State Museum Catalogue*, page 67, *c.* 11.

and died in A.D. 1757. He is said to have annexed Bhadu State to Basohli, probably with the help of Jammu. From about the middle of the eighteenth century the Basohli State became more and more dependent on Jammu. This fact finds expression in the local Chronicle which mentions that Jit-Pal "used to assist" Maharaja Dhrub-Dev of Jammu.

Amrit-Pal, A.D. 1757.—Amrit-Pal was only twelve years old at the time of his father's death. He married a daughter of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu in 1759, and also allied himself with the Raja of Kangra. His son, Bajai-Pal, was born in 1763, and another son in the same year who died in infancy.

Amrit-Pal resided much at Jammu, and from this time the Basohli State came to a large extent under the control of Ranjit-Dev, who had extended his power over the hills as far east as Chamba. The *Vansavali* says: "Amrit-Pal reigned by the grace of the illustrious king of kings, Ranjit-Dev. Maharaja Dhrub-Dev and Maharaja Ranjit-Dev wrote with their own hand on a copper-plate charter, that it was the duty of their house to maintain the kingdom of the Balaurias, taking Ganga and Jamuna (the sacred rivers Ganges and Jamna) as witnesses. Thus the Balaurias were from of old favoured by the Maharajas of Jammu and obedient to them." It is not known whether the plate is still extant. It is further stated that "Amrit-Pal obtained Bhadu through the favour of Ranjit-Dev, and also the *parganas* of Jundh and Bhalai from Chamba, and Kathar and Basantgarh[1] from Bhadrawah." Local tradition adds that he also acquired Shahpur as far as the Chakki from Nurpur; and Lakhanpur, Basantpur and Thain, all on the right bank of the Ravi—probably the whole of Lakhanpur State—from Jasrota. Lakhanpur State was ruled by a branch of the Jamwal family, an offshoot from Jasrota, and the latest historical mention is in connection with the expedition of Zain Khan Koka, already referred to, in the thirty-fifth year of Akbar (A.D. 1589-90). It is probable that the State was annexed by Jagat-Singh of Nurpur in pursuance of his ambitious designs, and at a later period it fell under the control of Jasrota. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it again reverted to Nurpur and was still regarded as a part of that territory when the hills were ceded to the British Government in March 1846.[2]

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[1] Basantgarh belonged to Ramnagar State, Kathar we cannot locate.

[2] Vide *Kangra Gazetteer*, page 28. *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Volume II, page 372.

Basohli was thus under great obligation to Jammu, and Amrit-Pal was required to render help in the military expeditions for the extension of Jammu supremacy. He assisted Ranjit-Dev in the conquest of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar, and in 1774 he led an army against Chamba.

In the early part of the reign of Raj-Singh of Chamba (1764-94), Ranjit-Dev had acquired much influence in the State, owing to the queen-mother being a Jammu Princess. The Wazir of the State was his own nominee, and his authority lasted till Raj-Singh came of age. On an attempt being made to free the State from his control, Ranjit-Dev sent an army under the command of Amrit-Pal of Basohli, which overran the northern province, called Churah, and is even said to have captured and held the capital for three months. During this occupation a copper-plate deed was issued by Amrit-Pal in place of one that had been lost, which is still extant, and bears a date corresponding to 25th May, A.D. 1774. Two *panihars* or cisterns bearing inscriptions, one at Mulkihar and the other at Batrundi in Lohtikri, are said to have been wantonly destroyed on that occasion. Raj-Singh was absent from the State at the time, but soon returned with a Sikh contingent from the Ramgarhia Sardars and drove out the invaders. As we shall see, he had his revenge when he overran and conquered Basohli in 1782.[1]

The *Vansavali* describes Amrit-Pal as an ideal ruler. " He protected his subjects like his own children. He made Brahmans, Kshatrias, Rajputs and Vaisyas persevere in their *sandhya* prayers and himself did the same, as also in *puja* and the sacred duty (*dharma*). The four castes took their food in the *chauka*.[2] When the women came out of their homes and happened to meet a man, they at once turned their back to him." In this strain the *Vansavali* lauds Amrit-Pal's reign as having been the golden age of Basohli history. To Amrit-Pal is ascribed the erection of the royal palace at Basohli, as already stated. That the Basohli State enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amrit-Pal appears to be true : but this was probably due less to the virtues of the ruler than to the political conditions of the time. The authority of the Mughals in the Panjab, already weakened by the rise of the Sikhs, was destroyed by Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, and by the subsequent inroads of Ahmad Shah Durani and the Marathas. The Delhi Emperors then lost all power in the province, which became the arena of a deadly struggle

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 98-9.

[2] *Chauka*, a square place, large or small, on earth within which the high castes eat their food.

between Marathas, Afghans and Sikhs, lasting till the end of the century. The unsettled state of affairs on the plains thus compelled traders and others, going to Kashmir, to select the safer route through the outer hills. The hill Chiefs levied toll on all merchandise passing through their territory, and it was to this circumstance that both Basohli and Jammu owed their rise, about the middle of the eighteenth century.[1]

The *Vansavali* brings the long account of Amrit-Pal's reign to a close by recording that, after an astrologer had foretold the day of his death, he made over the State to his son, Bijai-Pal, and left in the middle of the Holi festival for Benares, where he died at the age of thirty-two, after having reigned nineteen years.

Bijai-Pal, A.D. 1776.—With Amrit-Pal's death the fortunes of Basohli State began to decline. The Sikhs, not content with the plunder of the plains, began to penetrate into the hills, and levied blackmail from the hill Rajas, whose prosperous condition doubtless had stimulated their cupidity. Ranjit-Dev of Jammu by his wise policy managed for a time to ward off disaster, but under his son and successor, Brajraj-Dev, the town of Jammu was captured and sacked by Hakikat-Singh Kanheya and Maha-Singh Sukarchakia, father of Ranjit-Singh.

Basohli met the same fate, but there it was Raj-Singh, the warlike Chief of Chamba, who took the leading part. The insult suffered at the hands of Amrit-Pal during his minority had to be avenged, and in 1782 he invaded the State, captured Basohli and sacked it; and only restored the country on payment of a lakh of rupees. The date of the conquest is recorded on a stone let into the pavement in front of the temple of Lakshmi-Narain at Chamba. It reads: *Sam.* 58, *Chet par, Basohli da shahr fata kita*: "On the first of Chet of the year 58 (1782) the town of Basohli was conquered."[2]

Shortly afterwards the traveller, George Forster, passed through the outer hills on his way to Jammu in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader, and crossed the Ravi at Basohli on the 10th April 1783. He remarks:—[3]

"In the ferry boat were two Sicques going to the fort, of which a detachment they belonged to had taken possession, in consequence of being called in to the assistance of the

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[1] The route ran *via* Nahan, Bilaspur, Haripur, Nurpur and Basohli to Jammu.
[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 98-99.
[3] Forster's *Travels*, Volume I, page 135, 2nd Ed., pages 270-*ff*.

Bissouly Chief. Though this be the result of every connection made with the Sicques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A bordering Chief (Raj-Singh of Chamba) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages, before any opposition was made. The Sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation, and refused to relinquish it."[1]

On his further journey through Basohli territory Forster was painfully struck by the desolate appearance of the country owing to the recent war.

The bone of contention between Basohli and Chamba was the possession of the districts of Bhalai and Jundh, which were situated on the borders of the two States and had changed hands several times during the previous centuries. We have seen that in the middle of the seventeenth century these districts were restored to Chamba by a decision of the Mughal Court, after having been in the possession of Basohli for somet ime. They again reverted to Basohli in the reign of Medini-Pal, on whom they were bestowed by the Emperor,[2] and were re-taken by Chamba in A.D. 1758, in the time of Raja Ummed Singh (A.D. 1748-64). mrit-Pal reasserted the claim of Basohli and with the help of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu seized the territory in 1774. On the death of Ranjit-Dev in 1781, his son and successor, acting as lord paramount, restored these *parganas* to Chamba, along with those of Bhandal, Kihar and Diyur which had evidently remained in the hands of Basohli since the invasion of 1774.[3] The Takari letter from Brajraj-Dev conveying the territory to Chamba is still extant, and is dated 15th Bhadon S. 57 (A.D. 1781). In another Takari document from the same source, dated 18th Bhadon S. 59 (A.D. 1783), we find the same statement. The meaning of these documents evidently is, that on Ranjit-Dev's death, Raj-Singh of Chamba applied to his successor for a restoration of the *parganas*, which was granted on condition of service. On Basohli refusing compliance, the State was invaded and the territory seized by force, and the second document confirmed Raj-Singh in possession. From all this it is evident that at that period both Basohli and Chamba regarded Jammu as their suzerain.

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 98-9.

[2] *Chamba State Museum Catalogue*, page 67, c. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, page 70, c. 25, c. 30, c. 31.

Notwithstanding all this we find that on Raj-Singh's death in 1794, Bijai-Pal of Basohli again made inroads into the frontier districts of Bhalai and Jundh, in consequence of which Jit-Singh of Chamba retaliated by invading Basohli, and only restored it on promise of payment of a war indemnity.[1] A Takari letter, dated 5th Savan, S. 73=A.D. 1797, may possibly refer to this indemnity. In it Bijai-Pal promises to pay by instalments the amount due to Chamba.

There are two copper-plate title-deeds of Bijai-Pal's reign still extant: one is dated in Vik. 1846 or Saka 1711, corresponding to A.D. 1789, and the other Vik. 1848=A.D. 1791. Bijai-Pal died in A.D. 1806, and was succeeded by his son, Mahendar-Pal.

Mahendar-Pal, A.D. 1806.—Mahendar-Pal greatly embellished the palace at Basohli and added the Rang Mahal and Shish Mahal. He married a daughter of the Raja of Jasrota, by whom he had a son, named Bhupendar-Pal, born in the year of his accession.[2] He concluded a compact with Jit-Singh of Chamba in S. 82=A.D. 1806, which is preserved in the Chamba archives. It is noteworthy that in it the Basohli Chief has only the title 'Mian' which perhaps indicates that his father was then still alive. Soon afterwards, in 1808-9, the whole of the Hill States came under the control of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, and paid tribute to him. Mahendar-Pal had to go frequently to Lahore, and in 1813, on the way back, he was taken ill at Amritsar and died. He had reigned only seven years.

Bhupendar-Pal, A. D. 1813.—From an early part of his reign Ranjit-Singh began to turn his attention to the hills. Pathankot was annexed in 1808 and Kangra, with the States of the Jalandhar Circle, became tributary in 1809, and from this time the independence of the Hill States completely passed away. The vernacular history tells of Bhupendar-Pal's frequent visits to Lahore, and his being entrusted with the command of military expeditions in the hills. He was about to set out on one of these, and was returning from Lahore to make the necessary preparations, when he was taken ill at Amritsar, in the same way as his father, and died there, in November, 1834. He had reigned twenty-one years, and was the last ruler of Basohli who exercised any real power.

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[1] *Chamba State Gazetteer*, page 102.

[2] *Chamba State Museum Catalogue*, page 73, c. 55 and c. 56.

Kalyan-Pal, A.D. 1834.—Kalyan-Pal, the last of the Balauria Rajas, was born on 2nd Pau, Vik. 1891 (17th December, A.D. 1834), two months after his father's death. Vigne notes that when he first passed through Basohli, probably in June 1835, the Raja was dead, but the *rani* sent some fruit as a present. Vigne was evidently unaware of the fact that the deceased Raja had left an infant son, who was then in the palace with the *rani*, his mother, a Bhatial Princess. Being suspicious of the designs of Ranjit-Singh, who had annexed many of the other Hill States, the grandmother of the Raja, a Jasrota Princess, who acted as Regent, sought to remove many of the jewels and other valuables to a place of safety, and for this purpose she made use of several Brahman advisers in whom she had confidence, but who turned this opportunity to their own advantage, in order to enrich themselves at the expense of the State. Seeing what was going on and being unable to exercise any control, Mian Lajan-Singh, who held the relationship of grandfather to the young Raja, went to Lahore and acquainted Maharaja Ranjit-Singh with the state of affairs. Thereupon orders were issued that Mian Lajan-Singh should have charge of the State during the Raja's minority. On hearing of this, the *rani* and her Brahman advisers became very much annoyed, and determined to kill Lajan-Singh on his return. One attempt having failed, a Brahman friend was bribed to inveigle him into the palace unarmed, on the pretence that the *rani* wished to see him. Once inside the gateway he was at once set upon and pushed into a well, called Drug, where he was done to death in the most cruel manner. This happened in 1836, and it sealed the fate of the State. On hearing of the occurrence Ranjit-Singh, in Jeth 1836, by a *sanad* still extant, conveyed the State in *jagir* to his favourite, Raja Hira-Singh of Jammu, and the latter deputed Mian Mahtab-Singh, Tirikotia, as his deputy in charge of the administration. A short time previous to this, Jasrota State had been conferred on Raja Hira-Singh as a fief by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, and the two States adjoined each other.

Meanwhile Raja Kalyan-Pal was under the care of his mother and resided in the palace at Basohli, while the old officials continued to rule the State in subordination to Jammu. In February 1839 Basohli was visited a second time by Vigne, the traveller, and he notes that the State was then under the control of Raja Suchet-Singh of Ramnagar, youngest brother of Gulab-Singh of Jammu, and uncle of

Hira-Singh. The boundary line was a few miles to the west of Basohli. This would seem to indicate that the control of the State had changed hands in the interval.

Raja Suchet-Singh was killed in March, 1844, and Raja Hira-Singh in the following December. In 1845 the first Sikh War seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for action, and the State officials gathered a force and expelled the Sikh garrison from Basohli and seated the youthful Raja, aged eleven years, on the *gaddi*. But his position was only nominal, and soon afterwards, in March, 1846, the whole of the hill tracts between the Ravi and the Indus were transferred to Maharaja Gulab-Singh of Jammu. To Kalyan-Pal was assigned a pension of Rs. 3,000 on the 16th March, 1846. In 1850 he married a princess of the Sirmur family and later a daughter of the exiled Raja of Mankot, and he died without issue in 1857. His Sirmauri *rani* predeceased him, and the Mankoti *rani* continued to live in the palace at Basohli for many years after his death, in the receipt of a pension of Rs. 1,500 a year from Jammu. With Kalyan-Pal ended the main line of Balauria Rajas, but numerous branches of the family are still found in the hills. The only monument remaining of the departed glory of the Balauria princes is the old palace, which their rivals and final conquerors, the Rajas of Jammu, have allowed to fall into decay. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Basohli with Bhadu and Mankot now forms a *tahsil* in the Jasrota District of Jammu.

In the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum the Balaurias are well represented, as it contains portraits of Bhupat-Pal, Hindal-Pal, Kirpal-Pal, Medini-Pal—Jit-Pal, Mahendar-Pal and Bhupendar-Pal.

CHAPTER XIX.

Bhadrawah State.

The historical material for the present chapter is of the scantiest description, almost the only document available being the *Vansavali*, which seems to be of recent date and far from reliable. It is composed in Hindi prose, and compares unfavourably in every respect with other similar documents. The early portion is probably mythical, and only from the reign of Nag-Pal do we reach fairly firm ground. He was a contemporary of Akbar, and though not much is known of him, yet he has become more of a reality to us than his predecessors because of the copper-plate deed issued by him and the legends associated with his name.

Bhadrawah is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, but the reference is of little historical interest. It was a small State which played a very subordinate part in the politics and history of the time, and for this reason it was seldom brought to notice. The only other references are found in the *Vansavalis* of other States, especially Balor, Kashtwar and Chamba, its more powerful neighbours—all of whom in turn exercised suzerainty over it. The Bhadrawah State included the two valleys of the Niru and the Kargad or Balesa Nalas, both of which are tributaries of the Chandrabhaga or Chinab. It was bounded on the north by Kashtwar, on the east by Chamba, on the south by Balor or Basohli, and on the west by Chanehni, and corresponded precisely with the present district or *jagir* of the same name in Jammu State.

The principal portion of the State was Bhadrawah Proper, in the picturesque valley of the Niru (? Skr. *Nira* = water), of which the ancient name was Bhadravakasha as found in the *Rajatarangini*,[1] meaning literally "Happy Region." The lower portion of the valley, from Kaleni to the Chinab, is called Khasali.[2]

Bhadrawah is separated from Balor by the Chatar-Dhar Range in which is situated the Kund Kaplas mountain; farther west the same range, there called Dodhara

[1] *Rajataringini*, Stein, trans., page VIII, 501; *cf*. Volume II, 431, now Bhadarkashi

[2] Cunningham included Bhadrawah in the Muhammadan group of States, but this is incorrect. It was always Hindu. Cf. *Ancient Geography of India*, page 133.

divides Bhadrawah from Chanehni. Towards the north the Chandrabhaga river and the Bhonjwah Nala or Kali Nai form the boundary between Bhadrawah and Kashtwar. On the east the Dagani-Dhar separates Bhadrawah from Chamba.

The capital, also called Bhadrawah,[1] is situated in the upper Niru Valley, on an open and fertile plain on the left bank of the river. It contains about 3,000 inhabitants, and is a busy and prosperous centre of trade between the outer hills and the inner mountains. Overlooking the town on the south is the large fort, called Rantagarh, still held by a garrison from Jammu. The *chaugan* is in the centre of the town and is small and uninteresting, being surrounded by houses and shops and used chiefly as a market-place. It compares very unfavourably with that of Kashtwar or Chamba. There are traditions of an ancient capital, called Dughanagar, which stood where Satingal now stands, near the confluence of the Niru and the Halon Nalas.

As everywhere in the hills, so in Bhadrawah, traditions are common of the rule of the Ranas previous to the foundation of the State. Whilst in the main Chandrabhaga Valley the petty rulers seem to have been chiefly Thakurs, in Balesa and Bhadrawah they were mostly Ranas. There is reason to believe that the Ranas retained their status and influence down to a late period in Bhadrawah, for, as we shall see, there are traditions of their conflicts with the Rajas as late at any rate as the seventeenth century.

The *Vansavali* refers to an earlier dynasty which ruled over the valley, with its capital at Dughanagar. Of this dynasty only two names survive and, even if authentic, no details of the rule of these early Rajas have come down to us. The founder of this dynasty seems to have been Jobnath, and his heir-apparent, presumably his son, was Megnath. As these names are associated with events which are supposed to have taken place in the time of the Pandavas, we ought perhaps to regard them as purely mythical. It is said that the Pandavas wanted to offer a horse sacrifice, evidently a reference to the *asvamedha* of early times. The horse required for this purpose, named Panchkalyan, was not to be found, but ultimately was discovered to be with Jobnath. The Pandavas marched against him, and there was a battle near the capital, in which Jobnath was defeated and the horse

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[1] It is also called Nagar, *i.e.* 'the town,' being the only town in the State.

was taken. Jobnath and his heir-apparent, Meghnath, died in their palace at Dughanagar. This incident seems to have brought to an end the early dynasty of Rajas, or possibly it may refer to one of the Ranas who held the upper Niru valley before the State was founded.

Another interesting myth, which is current in the folklore of the people, has reference to Basak Nag, the snake-god, who is worshipped all over the hills. He is also sometimes called Bas-Dev, and is regarded as the patron divinity of Bhadrawah. The tradition or legend runs that Basak Nag originally dwelt in Kashmir. On some trouble arising he fled from the valley pursued by the Garuda or *Vahana* of Vishnu, and took refuge in the lake on the summit of Kund Kaplas, the highest peak in Bhadrawah. This legend seems to refer to a time when Naga or snake-worship was being superseded by Vishnuism, and had to withdraw to the more remote valleys of the Himalaya.

Basak Nag is not only regarded as the presiding deity of Bhadrawah, but as the first Raja of the valley.[1] The goddess Kali was originally in possession, and her shrine in the present capital, behind that of Basak Nag, is believed to be the oldest in the country. When in his flight Basak Nag arrived in the valley, the goddess took pity on him and granted him her own kingdom. "She seated Bas Dev in her own place and took her position behind him, and whatever charters are written are in the name of the first Raja, Bas Dev." Thus runs the *Vansavali*. The goddess Kali was his sister, and he was her favourite brother. He had two brothers, Mahl Nag and Savar Nag, the one older and the other younger than himself. The three of them agreed that, whichever of them should first see the sun in the morning, should be king of the valley. Their sister, who liked Basak Nag best, managed to conceal the sun from her two other brothers, and thus it came about that Basak Nag became the first Raja of Bhadrawah. The explanation of the legend may possibly be that Bhadrakali is a personification of the thunderstorm. Not only would this account for her name, meaning "the blessed black one," and her attributes—the trident, the mace, the tabor and the cup—taken as symbols of thunder, lightning and rain; it would also explain her close association with the Nagas, her brothers, who like her are givers of rain and causers of storms. Moreover, it also

[1] In Sanskrit literature he occurs under the name of Vasuki and often figures as the King of the Nagas.

explains how the Devi could conceal the sun from her other brothers, so that it was visible only to her favourite brother, whose abode is believed to be on Kund Kaplas, the highest mountain summit of Bhadrawah. Taking for granted that popular legends, like the one referred to, have their origin in the minds of reasonable beings, we may assume, that though seemingly absurd, they are yet susceptible of a reasonable interpretation. The same may be affirmed with reference to the plastic representations of the objects of popular worship.

Between Thanala, at the foot of the Padari Pass, and Nagar there are three temples.[1] Two of these, in the villages of Bheja Uparla, *i.e.*, Upper Bheja (the lower village is called Bheja Jakla) and Nalti are dedicated to Baski Nag, whereas the third one, in the village of Satingal, belongs to Santan Nag. The youngest brother of Baski, called Savar Nag, who is much dreaded for his bad temper, has a temple near Chintah, picturesquely situated in the midst of stately deodar trees. These Naga shrines are of a very simple construction; they consist of a square *cella* built of layers of stones alternating with wooden beams, surrounded by a verandah and covered with a conical wooden roof. This style, which is peculiar to Devi temples also, must be very ancient, as Devi and Naga worship undoubtedly represents the primitive cult of the Panjab hills. The Sikhara temples of stone, which are mostly connected with Siva or Vishnu worship, were most probably introduced from the plains, together with those forms of religion. In Bhadrawah no such temples are found. The only Vaishnava temple of the valley has been recently built at Nagar, the capital, in the mixed style which now-a-days seems to be fashionable for buildings of that kind.

The attendants of the Naga shrines are a Brahman *pujari* and a *chela* or disciple (from Skr. *cheta*) who belongs to the agricultural caste of the Meghs[2]. The temple of Baski Naga at Bheja Uparla has two *chelas*, one of whom is a Megh and the other a Thakkur. According to popular notions the *chela* is a more important personage than the *pujari*; for it is he who, at the time when rain is needed, becomes possessed by the deity, who is supposed to prophesy through his mouth. The state of feigned or real ecstasy, in which such predictions are uttered, is indicated by the word

[1] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab*, 1904.

[2] The Meghs are a low caste tribe in the outer hills.

nachna, "to dance." The *chela* is usually very prudent in the wording of his prophecies, so that it never can be said that they have not come true. The same institution is found in connection with Devi worship.

Basak Nag's reputed place of abode, in the lake on the top of Kund Kaplas or Kamalas (perhaps Skr. *Kamalasaya* = lotus seat), 14,241 feet, is the object of a yearly pilgrimage. Another great *tirtha* of Bhadrawah is the mountain-top which rises immediately to the south-west of the Padari Pass, and is known by the name of Sonabain[1] (Skr. *Suvarnavapi*) the golden tank. On this spot, so the story goes, there was once a tank built of golden bricks. A certain Brahman used to visit the place mounted on his horse, Panchkalyan, which name is said to indicate that it had five white spots, one on each hoof and one on the forehead. Once the Brahman suffered himself to be persuaded by his wife to bring her some of the golden bricks, but when he reached the mountain-top he found the golden tank buried under the snow, never to appear again.

The authentic history of Bhadrawah begins with the conquest of a portion of the valley, presumably from the Ranas, by Radhik-Pal, younger brother of the reigning Raja of Balor (Basohli), which, according to the Balor *Vansavali*, may have taken place in the tenth century. This does not necessarily mean that a separate and independent principality was then founded; it may only indicate that Bhadrawah then became a *jagir* or fief, subject to Balor (Vallapura). There is presumptive evidence in the Bhadrawah *Vansavali*, that the State did not become independent till a much later period, for it is noteworthy that the list of local Rajas contains only sixteen or seventeen names, and would not therefore carry us back much farther than the fifteenth century. The claim to a common origin from the same parent stem in Mayapuri (Hardwar) is made in the *Vansavalis* of four States, *viz.*, Kulu, Balor (Basohli), Bhadu and Bhadrawah. As already stated, Kulu was the first to break off from Mayapuri, in the early centuries of the Christian era; and it was followed by Balor about the eighth century. From Balor the two families of Bhadu and Bhadrawah are both off-shoots. This is confirmed by the Balor *Vansavali*, as well as by the other two *Vansavalis* and common tradition.

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[1] The Sonabai of the map, 12,418 ft. The word *bain* is commonly used in the Panjab hills and therefore can hardly be called a Dakhini word. (*Cf.* Platts' *Hindustani Dictionary*, I-V).

The Bhadrawah *Vansavali* gives the names of five brothers, each of whom is said to have founded a kingdom. Of these four have already been referred to, *viz.*, Kulu, Balor, Bhadu and Bhadrawah. The fifth was Batol, probably the Vartula of the *Rajatarangini*, a small State on the lower Chinab, near Ramban,[1] the ruling family of which became Muhammadan, probably in the reign of Shahjahan, and still resides in Batol. The tradition of several brothers having each founded a kingdom is met with in connection with more than one of the hill families. In such cases seniority is usually claimed by all.

The oldest historical and authentic reference to Bhadrawah is contained in a Chamba copper-plate title-deed of Soma-Varman and Asata-Deva, the latter of whom was a contemporary of Raja Kalasa of Kashmir (A.D. 1063—89).[2] In it mention is made of a man from Bhadrawah (*Skr.* Bhadravakasha) as a landholder in the village of Bhadram (*Skr.* Bhadravarma) near Chamba town. It is, however, very improbable that at such an early period Bhadrawah belonged to Chamba. It was more contiguous to Balor, lying as it did immediately to the north of that State, and may have already come under its control, as stated in the Chronicle of that State.

As already stated, there is also a reference to Bhadrawah in the *Rajatarangini* (VIII, 501), where we read that *Sahasramangala*, the pretender to the Kashmir throne, being exiled by King Sussala, resided in Bhadravakasha. From this we may conclude that in the beginning of the twelfth century Bhadrawah did not belong to Kashmir. More likely it ranked for a long period as a province or fief of the parent State of Balor, and was under its rule and protection, and did not acquire independence till about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The names of the first eight Rajas are given differently in the two authorities, down to *Nag-Pal*, after which they are in agreement. In the *Vansavali* they are as follows :— *Dhari-Pal ; Kalas-Pal ; Ichha-Pal ; Ransingh-Pal ; Dharm-Pal ; Bikram-Pal ; Bishambar-Pal ; Nag or Than Pal.*

In the vernacular history they are :—*Bhadr-Pal ; Prithvi-Pal ; Ajia-Pal ; Kelas-Pal ; Kihsan-Pal ; Mahan-Pal ; Nag-Pal ; Bishambhar Pal.*

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., VIII, pages 287, 539.

[2] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Volume I, pages 196.

Nag-Pal.—Of the Rajas who preceded Nag-Pal we know nothing but the names. There is a halo of mystery around Nag-Pal's birth. According to one record his father was Bishambhar-Pal, whose *rani*, a Kashtwar Princess, named Rani Kandani, became a widow six months after her marriage. In order to avert the extinction of the royal line it was resolved to resort to Basak Nag, and the *rani* was left in the Nag temple for one night and became pregnant. As doubts might have been thrown on the legitimacy of her son, she entreated the Nag to grant a sign that would remove all suspicion. Accordingly when her son was born he had a snake's hood issuing from his back, and so received the name of Nag-Pal.

In the vernacular history Nag-Pal's birth story is told somewhat differently.[1] There the order of the names is not the same, and Mahan-Pal is given as Nag-Pal's father, while Bishambhar-Pal is said to be his son. Raja Mahan-Pal was old and childless, so it is said, and he vowed a vow to Basak Nag to make an offering if a child was born. In a dream the Nag appeared to him and assured him that he would have a son, and that a special mark would be found upon the child. Accordingly in due course a son was born with something like the tail of a snake on his back, and was called Nag-Pal. By another *rani* a second son was born, named Umed-Chand. An amusing tradition of Nag-Pal is current in the local folklore. It is said that in the time of Akbar, when most of the Hill States were tributary to the Mughals, Nag-Pal betook himself to Delhi. There it so happened that one day the Emperor's water-carrier and the Raja's met at the same well, and the former ordered every one to stand aside. This the latter refused to do, and a struggle ensued in which the Emperor's man fell into the well. Then Nag-Pal was summoned before the Emperor to answer for his servant's misconduct, and he defended it by saying that the water was intended for the worship of Basak Nag, and that it would have been polluted if the Emperor's *mashki* had drawn water first. Akbar asked scornfully who Basak Nag was, and called for a sign which would show that the Nag was mightier than the Emperor. This the Raja promised to show the following day, and when he again appeared in *darbar*, a five-headed snake issued from his turban and threatened to ascend the throne on which Akbar was seated. Then the Emperor became very much alarmed, and promised the Raja

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[1] *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Panjab*, by Kahn Singh.

a boon if he would take back the snake. This Nag-Pal did and obtained the privilege of the royal drums (*naubat*), which were used at the palace; and down to the present day are beaten in the temple of Basak Nag at Bhadrawah.

Similar incidents of petty Rajas defying the power of the Muhammadan rulers are specially numerous and popular in the Panjab hills. That they were not altogether without foundation is proved by the frequent rebellions of the Pathania Rajas of Nurpur and of other Chiefs.

On returning to his country from the Mughal Court, Nag-Pal built the temple of Basak Nag on the spot where it still stands in the town of Bhadrawah. At that time, however, Dughanagar, about a mile farther up the valley, was still the capital. The temple contains two images, one of the Nag and the other of the Raja, both in human form, and the worship has continued down to the present time.

As already stated, Nag-Pal also bore the name of Than-Pal, and a copper-plate of his reign still exists. It is dated probably in A.D. 1584, but the reading is uncertain. According to the *Vansavali*, Nag-Pal had four sons, of whom the youngest, named Bhakt-Pal, succeeded to the *gaddi*; the others having all died childless. In the vernacular history, Bhakt-Pal is Nag-Pal's grandson and the son of Bashambhar-Pal, who stands as the son of Nag-Pal. From that time it became the custom for the younger sons of the ruling family to assume the suffix of 'Chand,' which they continued to do till the extinction of the State.

Nag-Pal is said to have ruled for many years, and may have died about A.D. 1620.

Bhakt-Pal.—An interesting tradition, associated with this Raja's reign, has come down to us. Down to his time the petty Chiefs, called Ranas, were still in possession of their lands, and had not abandoned the hope of recovering their independence. They are said to have risen in revolt against Bhakt-Pal, and a battle was fought on what is now the *chaugan*, but which at that time was probably an open plain, the town of Bhadrawah not having then been founded. The Ranas were defeated, and we hear no more of them in the records of the State. It was also in this reign that Raja Bhupat-Pal of Balor (Basohli), A.D. 1598-1635, invaded the State and made it tributary.

He then advanced to Kashtwar, which he also conquered and held for some time.[1] This was probably about A.D. 1628-9. Bhakt-Pal had three sons, Dhrub-Pal, Rup-Chand and Kimat or Man Chand.

Dhrub-Pal.—Dhrub-Pal's reign is approximately fixed by a copper-plate deed granted by his brother, Rup-Chand, and dated in A.D. 1692. Further than this we possess no information of the events of his time. The grant must have been made after his death, as another copperplate deed was given by his son, Abhaya-Pal, dated in A.D. 1691, which may have been the year of his accession.

Abhaya-Pal, c. A.D. 1691.—Till this reign the capital seems to have been at Dughanagar on the right bank of the Halon Nala. It was probably of no great size, and it met with a tragic end. A famine had come upon the valley, so the tradition says, and Basak Nag, leaving his mountain home on Kund Kaplas, assumed the disguise of a mendicant, and went to Dughanagar to beg for food. At every door he met with a rebuff, till at last he came to the house of an old woman, who said, "I have only a few herbs, but you are welcome to them." In handing over the herbs she looked at him more closely and noticed that water was dripping from his girdle, and she then knew that her guest was not a mendicant but Basak Nag. Seeing that he had been recognized, he warned her not to speak to any one of his visit. He also told her that within a few days the town would be destroyed, but that her house would be saved. Accordingly a few days later a violent storm arose on the summit of Kund Kaplas, the rivers came down in flood, and the town was swept away, only the old woman's house being left standing. The large boulders, still covering the plain where Dughanagar stood, are said to have been hurled down by Basak Nag in his wrath.[2]

This legend [3] has many features in common with that of the destruction of Narapura by the Naga Susravas, as told by Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini*. There also we read that the Naga, though in human shape, was recognized by his hair-tufts dripping water, and the origin of the stone waste along

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[1] Vide *J.P.H.S.*, Volume IV, No. 1, page 12.

[2] A similar flood occurred in Bhadrawah three or four years ago in the same way which destroyed a large portion of the town, with the loss of many lives. Areas which yielded rich harvests of grain are now covered with huge boulders.

[3] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, trans., pages 201—275.

the Rembyara river in Kashmir is ascribed to a similar cause as that of the waste at the confluence of the Niru and Halon Nalas in Bhadrawah. The numerous legends relating to the Nagas, which are either found in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature or are still current in the valleys of the Himalaya, can only lead to one conclusion regarding the true nature of so-called serpent-worship. The Nagas are water spirits, and in worshipping them the alternatively beneficial and destructive powers of water are propitiated. That this worship of water spirits became so prevalent among the agricultural population of India cannot be a matter of surprise. It goes back undoubtedly to a very remote age, as appears from its frequent mention in ancient literature. That now-a-days it is chiefly found in the hills, is due to the fact of an ancient cult having retained its hold in the more or less isolated highlands, while on the plains it has been swept away by more advanced forms of religion. But in ancient times it was certainly not restricted to the hills. We thus understand why Buddhist authors and sculptors were equally anxious to represent the Naga Kings as converts and worshippers of the Buddha. It shows that in the early days of Buddhism the Nagas themselves had numerous devotees all over India.[1]

Abhaya-Pal had two brothers, named Jai-Chand and Kalyan-Chand, and he probably died about A.D. 1707, and was succeeded by his son, Medini-Pal.

Medini-Pal, c. A.D. 1707.—It is recorded that Medini-Pal was invested with the *janeo* or sacred thread in A.D. 1707, perhaps on becoming Raja, and his younger brother, Manik-Chand, issued a copper-plate grant in A.D. 1708. Medini-Pal is said to have founded the present town of Bhadrawah, and made it the capital. His son, Sampat-Pal, was born in Vik. 1767 = A.D. 1710.

Sampat-Pal, c. A.D. 1735.—Sampat-Pal may have succeeded to the *gaddi* between 1730 and 1740, and his younger brother was Harakh or Harsha-Chand, who is referred to in a letter still extant in Chamba. Sampat-Pal built the fort of Rantagarh and named it Medinipur, probably after his father. He intermarried with the Jammu and Jasrota families and had five sons and four daughters. His sons were: *Fateh-Pal, Jhagar-Chand, Bhup-Chand, Sangar-Chand* and *Kundan-Singh.* Of his daughters one,

[1] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey for 1904*, pages 65, 66.

named Suratu, was married to Abhaya-Chand of Kangra, Darsanu to Prithvi-Singh of Nurpur, Naginu to Raj-Singh of Chamba, and Tholu in Jasrota. Sampat-Pal is said to have died on the Pir Khuha at Jammu. With the reign of Sampat-Pal the fortunes of Bhadrawah began to decline. Being a small State it was unable to hold its own against its more powerful neighbours, and it was probably always tributary to one or another of them. We read of invasions of the State in the annals of Balor and Kashtwar; and Chamba was probably not behind others in claiming supremacy when an opportunity offered. On the cession of the Panjab, in A.D. 1752, to Ahmad Shah Durani, all alike came more or less under the control of Ranjit-Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1750—81).

Fateh-Pal, c. A.D. 1770.—Fateh-Pal was born in 1732 and was in power when Raj-Singh of Chamba invaded the State about A.D. 1783. Ranjit-Dev of Jammu died in 1781 and was succeeded by his son, Brajraj-Dev, who was unable to maintain the power which his father had gained. The Chamba *Vansavali* states that he transferred the supremacy over Kashtwar and Bhadrawah to Chamba.[1] This was probably in 1783, for a letter exists in the Chamba archives from Fateh-Pal to Raj-Singh, dated 22nd Chet, S. 60 (A.D. 1784) owning allegiance to Chamba. There is also a copy of an agreement,[2] which must have been come to about the same time, between Raj-Singh and Fateh-Pal, in which Fateh-Pal is acknowledged as Raja of Bhadrawah on the following conditions, which he accepts:—(1) That he will be faithful to Chamba. (2) That whenever summoned he will come to Chamba. (3) That he will give Jai-Chand's *jagir* to Bhup-Chand. (4) That he will not enter into an alliance with Balor, Kashtwar or Bandralta, and will do nothing without consulting Chamba. (5) That Chamba troops will be stationed at Bhadrawah and Fateh-Pal must provide supplies and give no trouble. (6) That if he has any communications from Balor, Kashtwar and Bandralta he will keep the Raja of Chamba fully informed of them. (7) That he will maintain his alliance with Chamba only. (8) That Chamba is supporting Mian Kundan-Singh in his attempt to gain Kashtwar, and Fateh-Pal must send a force. (9) That his tribute money shall be Rs. 3,000 yearly, which must be regularly paid.

[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 100.

[2] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, c. 36, page 71; and c. 22, page 70.

There is also a letter from Bhup-Chand, brother of Fateh-Pal, dated 10th Maghair, S. 59=A.D. 1783, addressed to Nathu, the Wazir of Chamba, stating that Bhadrawah had been taken over and the fort occupied, presumably by Chamba troops[1]. The tender of allegiance by Fateh-Pal, on 22nd Chet of S. 60=A.D. 1784, was thus the result of an invasion of the State by Chamba, which seems to have been unopposed, and it must have followed immediately on the transfer of the supremacy from Jammu to Chamba. Kashtwar was invaded by Raj-Singh of Chamba in the following year (1785),[2] in pursuance of the claim of supremacy, and a contingent was sent from Bhadrawah along with the Chamba army, under Bhup-Chand, younger brother of Fateh-Pal. The whole force was under the nominal command of Jit-Singh, son of Raj-Singh, then a boy of eleven years of age. Having conquered the capital, Mian Kundan-Singh, the youngest son of Sampat-Pal of Bhadrawah, was installed as Raja in subjection to Chamba. He did not long retain the honour thus thrust upon him, and to which he seemingly had no claim, for it was soon found that he was intriguing against Chamba, and he was therefore deposed, and made a prisoner. After six months' occupation the army had to retire, on the return of the Kashtwar Raja with a force from Kashmir, whither he had fled on the invasion of the State. Kundan-Singh was afterwards set at liberty and died in Chamba, where his descendants still reside. He had received a loan of Rs. 29,000 from Brajraj-Dev of Jammu, probably for the Kashtwar expedition, for repayment of which Raj-Singh of Chamba became security.

Fateh-Pal continued to rule the State as a vassal of Chamba till about A.D. 1790, when he was deposed by Raj-Singh and deported to Chamba, where he remained a prisoner in the Pakki Chauki (old palace) for the remainder of his life. *Daya-Pal*, his son, born in 1756, was then made Raja, and entered into a written agreement with Raj-Singh, similar to that of his father. It is unfortunately not dated, but runs as follows :—[3](1) That if summoned by Raj-Singh he will come at once. (2) That he will not give trouble to Mian Harakh-Chand in the management of his *jagir*, and will regularly send his grain to Chamba. (3) That the tribute money payable by Bhadrawah to the Sikhs is to be paid

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[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 71, c. 35.

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 100, and *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 70, c. 26, and page 71, c. 38.

[3] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 71, c. 33.

through Chamba. (4) That he will not communicate with Balor (Basohli) or Bandralta (Ramnagar) without permission. (5) That he will not communicate with Fateh-Pal (his father) without permission. (6) That he will afford every assistance to the Chamba troops in the fort (at Bhadrawah), and will give supplies to other troops that may be sent. (7) That if any letter reaches him from Balor or Bandralta he will send no answer without showing it to the Raja of Chamba.[1] The Harakh or Harsha-Chand mentioned in the document was the younger brother of Sampat-Pal, and therefore grand-uncle of Daya-Pal, and was evidently resident in Chamba. Raj-Singh of Chamba was killed in battle in the month of Har (June) 1794, and was succeeded by his son, Jit-Singh, to whom a tender of allegiance was made by *Bhup-Chand*, uncle of Daya-Pal, in a letter, dated 20th Sawan, S. 70=August A.D. 1794. From this we infer that Daya-Pal too had proved unfaithful, and was removed from power, Bhup-Chand being put in his place. An agreement, undated, was also made by Bhup-Chand, promising to remain faithful and tributary to Chamba. These agreements, however, seem to have had little binding force, and were broken on the first favourable opportunity. This soon happened, and Bhup-Chand being arrested was brought to Chamba and confined, along with his brother, in the Pakki Chauki till his death. He was married to a Chamba Princess, named Atharbanu, and had one son, Pahar-Chand, born in 1789. Daya-Pal was then restored to power and continued to rule the State till 1810. It was probably towards the end of his reign that Bhadrawah was invaded by an army from Kashtwar under Wazir Lakhpat-Rai of that State, aided by a contingent from Kashmir then under the Afghans. The invading army was opposed by a Chamba force under Wazir Nathu at Basnota, near Tantari on the Chinab, and again at Gullugarh, but without success, and the victors then advanced to the capital which they captured and burnt. Nathu surrendered, and a sum of Rs. 20,000 was exacted, after which the Kashtwar army retired.

About 1810, as the result of internal dissensions, Daya-Pal was driven out of the State and retired to Dinanagar,[2] where he died, and, in the absence of an heir, he was succeeded by Pahar-Chand, son of Bhup-Chand.[3] For ten years more

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 72, c. 42, with which compare c. 34.

[2] *Cf*. Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 105, and Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 195.

Chamba Gazetteer, page 104.

things seem to have gone on uneventfully, and then in 1820 Pahar-Chand, finding a favourable opportunity, withheld the tribute money, engaged Pathan soldiers and rebelled. A force was at once sent from Chamba under Wazir Nathu, which was defeated on the Padari-Pass, and Nathu then went to Maharaja Ranjit-Singh to ask for help. The Maharaja seems to have been at Nurpur, and his army was engaged in besieging Rihlu Fort in Kangra, a claim having been made for the surrender of the Rihlu *pargana*, which belonged to Chamba. The garrison made a brave defence, but the queen-mother, who was then regent for her son, Charhat-Singh, fearing the consequences of further resistance, ordered the fort to be given up. Vigne states that the surrender of Rihlu was agreed to on condition that Chamba should receive Bhadrawah in exchange, and this is borne out by a *sanad* in the State archives, which is said to have been granted to Nathu Wazir on the occasion.[1] It is a letter in Persian from Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Raja Charhat-Singh, in which the former expresses his satisfaction that Rihlu Fort and the *ilaqa* had been made over, and states that the Bhadrawah State is conferred on Chamba in exchange, the only condition being that Mian Pahar-Chand is to receive a *jagir* of Rs. 3,000. It is dated 27th Jeth, Vik. 1878 = June A.D. 1821, and was granted at Nurpur Bagh.[2]

In accordance with that agreement Rihlu Fort was surrendered in the following month to the Sikhs, and a Sikh force was sent with Nathu Wazir to compel the Raja of Bhadrawah to comply with the terms of the *sanad*. Seeing that resistance was useless, Pahar-Chand partly demolished the Rantagarh Fort and then fled and died at Amritsar. With him the direct line of the Bhadrawah ruling family came to an end, but many collateral branches still exist in the hills.

From 1821 onwards Bhadrawah was ruled by Chamba officials as a province of the State, and in 1833 Mian Zorawar-Singh, younger brother of the Chamba Chief, was appointed governor with the title of "Chhota Raja." This office he continued to hold till 1844. In 1836 an attempt was made to conquer Bhadrawah by Zorawar-Singh Kahluria, one of Gulab-Singh's ablest officers, but the Rantagarh Fort was strongly held, and another force was advancing from Chamba to its support. The Dogras had therefore to retire.

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 195.

[2] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 73, c. 59.

Mr. Vigne, the traveller, was the first European to visit the valley, in 1838[1]. He came from and returned to Doda on the Chinab. He speaks very highly of the beauty of the scenery. He thought it was "the prettiest country he had seen in the mountains, with the exception of Kashmir." Many who have seen the Bhadrawah valley will agree with this opinion. In 1844 some trouble arose in Chamba after Raja Charhat-Singh's death, in consequence of Mian Zorawar-Singh's suspected designs on the State. Not receiving any support among the officials and the people he fled to Bhadrawah, and soon afterwards to Jammu, where he died in 1845. His son, Mian Prakim-Singh, was then appointed governor of the State in his room, but soon afterwards it was invaded and annexed by Jammu.

By the treaty of Amritsar of 16th March, 1846, the whole area of the outer hills to the west of the Ravi was ceded by the British Government to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu. As the Ravi bisects the Chamba territory, a large portion of the State was also included in the transfer. Soon afterwards in the course of the settlement a question arose as to whether it was intended to make over the whole of Chamba or only the trans-Ravi portion. The Chamba Chief had been tributary to the Sikhs, but objected to occupying the same position under Gulab-Singh. He also claimed Bhadrawah in virtue of the *sanad* granted by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, while the British Government claimed Lakhanpur, both of which places had been included in the transfer. Lakhanpur was situated to the west of the Ravi, opposite Madhopur and Shahpur, and had been in the possession of Nurpur for some time before the annexation of that State, in 1816. Ultimately an agreement was come to whereby Gulab-Singh acquired Lakhanpur in exchange for the cis-Ravi portion and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawah in exchange for the trans-Ravi portion of the State. Had the provisions of the treaty of 16th March been fully carried out, Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir.[2]

In former times the revenue probably never exceeded half a lakh, but owing to the exploitation of the valuable deodar forests it has now risen to a much larger amount.

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 194-98.

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, pages 108-109.

CHAPTER XX.

Bhadu State.

Bhadu State was bounded on the north and east by Balor, on the south by the Karaidhar range separating it from Jasrota, and on the west by Mankot, now called Ramkot. The capital was at Bhadu or Padhu (map Padooa), on the Bhini river, a tributary of the Ujh, and the name is said to have been corrupted from "Paharu," meaning a "hillock," from the low hill on which the town is built. From this name the royal family derived their distinctive cognomen of Bhadwal, in keeping with the custom of almost all the royal lines in the hills, each of whom took its title either from the name of the State or of its capital.

The historical material for the history of Bhadu is very scanty, consisting chiefly of the *Vansavali*, which contains only a list of names of the Rajas who ruled the State with a few additional notes. Some supplementary details are found in the *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan Mulk-i-Panjab* by Thakur Kahn-Singh Balauria, and also in the Balor *Vansavali*. The State was always small, and is only once referred to in contemporary history, if the reference be accepted as authentic.

According to the vernacular history it included only thirty-six villages at the time of its foundation, and, being surrounded by more powerful States, few accessions of territory can have taken place in later years. It is not directly mentioned in the Muhammadan histories, but there can be little doubt that it was involved in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the reign of Akbar,[1] when strong military expeditions were sent into the hills to quell the revolts. Among the States of the thirteen hill Chiefs who accompanied Zain Khan Koka to Court with valuable presents in A.D. 1589, there is one name, Kot Bharta, which may probably be meant for Bhadu. Serious clerical errors are often found in Persian writing, and Bharta may quite well have been Bhadu in the original copy, or possibly the name is meant for Sambarta,[2] which may then have been the capital of the State. The association of the name in such close relationship with Balor, Jasrota and other States seems to be conclusive that Bharta was in near proximity to them. The Raja

[1] Vide *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, page 86.

[2] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, page 79.

of the time was not named Daulat, but the person referred to may have been only a State official, as the omission of the title "Rai" seems to imply; indeed it is noticeable that this is the only name in the list with which the title is not associated. Cunningham seems to have identified Bhadu with a hill district called Baddivasa referred to in the *Rajatarangini*,[1] but this identification cannot be sustained as the district in question was evidently in Parnotsa or Punch.

It is probable that the original nucleus of Bhadu State was Sumata or Sumarta (map Sambarta), a tract to the west of Balor, and primarily a part of that State. This tract had been occupied some time earlier by Som-Pal, younger brother of Raja Man-Sakya, one of the early Rajas of Balor, who may have reigned in the latter part of the ninth century, and from him it is said to have been named Sumata or Sumarta, but the name is more probably of tribal origin.

The people of Sumata were called Sumaria,[2] and they are referred to under the name of Saumataka in two copper-plate deeds in Chamba of the middle of the eleventh century, but in connection with events that happened in the early part of the tenth century. Sumata was probably the original capital and name of Balor State; hence the tribal name Saumataka.

The Sumaria Rajputs were famous for their martial qualities, and many of them are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Sambarta, as the place is now called.

In later times Sumarta seems to have been a bone of contention between Bhadu, Mankot and Balor, and may often have changed hands; at the time of the overthrow of Mankot State it was within that territory.

Bhadu, as already indicated, was an offshoot from Balor (Basohli), and included a small portion of territory to the south of that State, with the capital at Bhadu near the left bank of the Bhini stream, the same on which Balor is situated farther to the north. The Bhadu *Vansavali* states that at a very early period the progenitor of the line came from Mayapuri (Hardwar) and founded the kingdom of Kulu.

At a later date, as the Bhadu *Vansavali* also tells us, probably about A.D. 750, a cadet of the Kulu family, named Bhog-Pal, surrendered his kingdom to his younger brother,

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[1] *Ancient Geography of India*, page 135, and *Rajatarangini*, VI, page 318.

[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 76, and *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pages 98-99.

Som-Pal, and found his way to the west of the Ravi, where he conquered Balor (Vallapura) and founded that State. The Kulu *Vansavali* is silent on the subject, but in it we find a Raja named Som-Pal, who may have reigned about the time referred to, but of this we cannot be certain. It seems most probable that the founder of Balor State really was a cadet of the Kulu family, though the Balor *Vansavali* makes him the head of the parent stem, which ruled Mayapuri.[1]

From the Balauria branch there were three offshoots, Bhadu, Bhadrawah and Batol, the last named being probably the Vartula of the *Rajatarangini*, situated in the lower Chinab Valley. The tradition of a common origin from Mayapuri has been preserved in all these families.

The Balor State seems to have continued in its undivided form down to the reign of Trailokya-Deva (*c.* A.D. 1028-41).

According to the *Vansavali*, Trailokya-Deva was succeeded by his son, Kalas-Pal, and he again by Tung or Tunga-Pal.[2] In the *Rajatarangini*, however, Kalas-Pal is called " Kalasa, the son of Tukka, lord of Vallapura." We must assume that the *Rajatarangini* is correct, and that the names of Kalasa and Tukka have been reversed in copying the *Vansavali*. *Tukka* and *Tunga* probably refer to the same person, who was the elder son of Trailokya-Deva, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. There was also a younger son of Trailokya, named Tosh or Tokh-Pal, to whom was assigned the district of Hatetar in *jagir* during his father's lifetime.

With this, however, he was not satisfied, and soon after his father's death he laid claim to half the State and occupied some of the territory adjoining his *jagir*. On hearing of the outbreak, Tung-Pal, who seems to have resided at Basohli, collected his force and advanced against his brother, who was supported by the Sumaria Rajputs. After some fighting Tokh-Pal was defeated and fled to Lahore, then in the hands of the Muhammadans.

It is said that he made a vow not to shave his head or his beard, and to eat only one meal a day, and that with the left hand, till he had captured Balor. With a force obtained from the Nawab of Lahore, Tokh-Pal then returned, and marching by way of the Bhini Nala by night, he surprised and captured Balor after a short struggle. He then seated

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, pages 77-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 82.

himself on the *chaugan* and had his beard and head trimmed. The Muhammadan troops then began to sack the town, and robbed the temple of Harihar Mahadev of the silver and gold vessels, and destroyed some figures. On seeing this Tokh-Pal became alarmed for the consequences to himself, from the wrath of the god whose temple had thus been desecrated.

Meantime news of the invasion reached Tung-Pal and he came with an army ; but was unable to withstand the forces opposed to him, and agreed to make peace. It was then arranged by the Muhammadan commander that one-third of the State should be made over to Tokh-Pal, leaving the remainder in Tung-Pal's hands. The Muhammadan force then retired.

Tokh-Pal, however, had a dream in which he was told that his kingdom would last only a short time, on account of the desecration of the Harihar temple. Being much alarmed he rose at once and went to Balor where he paid his devotions at the shrine of the god and besought forgiveness. After some nights spent in supplication he had a vision that the rule of his house would endure for twenty-two generations only.

He then went to Basohli to beg his brother's forgiveness, and the two were fully reconciled. Tokh-Pal founded the capital of the State on a small hill called *paharu*, and this word gradually became corrupted to Bhadu, from which, as already stated, the clan name of Bhadwal is formed. With these data at our disposal it is easy to fix an approximate date for the foundation of the State with a near approach to certainty.[1] From the Chamba inscriptions we know that Trailokya-Deva, the father of Tunga or Tukka and of Tosh or Tokh-Pal reigned between A.D. 1028 and 1041, and that his grandson, Kalas-Pal—the Kalasa of the *Rajatarangini*—was in power about A.D. 1055, when Ananta-Deva of Kashmir invaded the Balor State.

Tung or Tuk-Pal must, therefore, have ruled between A.D. 1041 and 1055, and it was during his reign, say, A.D. 1045-50, that Bhadu State was founded.

From that time till the extinction of the State, about A.D. 1840, a period of nearly 800 years, there are said to have been only twenty-two Rajas, including the founder,

[1] *J. P. H. S.*, Volume IV, No. 2, page 82.

in keeping with the announcement made by Harihar Mahadev to Tokh-Pal, that only twenty-two Rajas would rule the State. This would give an average of nearly forty years to each reign, which is improbable. There were thirty-two Rajas in Balor in the same length of time, and we must, therefore, conclude that the *Vansavali* has been made to fulfil the prophecy. Tokh-Pal was succeeded by Bikram-Pal, but we have no records of his reign.

Bikram-Pal had two sons, Daulat-Pal and Nardhan-Pal. The elder was of a religious disposition, and in his father's lifetime became a *brahmchari* and took up his abode in a *takya* or hut on a plain in Hatetar, where he engaged in devotional austerities. On his father's death he declined to accept his position as heir and gave the *rajtilak* or mark of investiture to his brother. Daulat-Pal continued his austerities till his death, and is regarded as the Kul-Dev or family deity of the Bhadwal Rajas.

Nardhan-Pal, on becoming Raja, built a temple, a tank and a *dharmsala* near his brother's hut, and appointed *sadabrat* or free distribution of food. Nothing special appears to have occurred during this reign, and the two principalities of Balor and Bhadu seem to have existed side by side at peace with each other.

Gwar-Pal succeeded on his father's death. He had three sons, of whom the eldest followed in the rule of the State, and the other two founded branches of the family which still exist.

Dharm-Pal, the next Raja, like his predecessors, seems to have had an uneventful reign. We are probably to assume that Bhadu and Balor, being so closely related to each other by family ties, acted together in the wars of the time, especially with Chamba and other neighbouring States. The next Rajas were *Uttam-Pal, Dakhan-Pal, Anirudh-Pal* and *Nikodar-Pal,* The last had three sons, of whom the two younger founded collateral branches, one of these resides at Raipur in Basohli and the other at Sandhara in Chamba.

The succeeding Rajas were, *Karidhan-Pal, Anant-Pal* and *Jernan-Pal,* of whom nothing is known.

Abhiman-Pal, the next ruler of the State, is said to have been a contemporary of Bhupat-Pal of Basohli (*c.* A.D. 1598-1635), which seems probable. The Balor *Vansavali* tells us that Bhupat-Pal invaded Bhadu and Bhadrawah, both ruled by branches of his own family, and made them

tributary. This relationship, however, was not maintained for long, and after a few years Bhadu regained independence.

Man-Pal followed and was in turn succeeded by his son, *Chatar-Pal.* The latter had two sons of whom the younger founded a branch of the family still residing in Basohli.

Udaya-Pal, the next Raja, must have ruled about A.D. 1723, as there is a *patta* or title-deed of his extant on paper, bearing the date Vik. 1780=A.D. 1723. He was succeeded by *Puran-Pal,* in whose reign Bhadu was annexed to Basohli by Jit-Pal of that State. This must have occurred after A.D. 1736, the year of Jit-Pal's accession. It is probable, however, that the State was only made tributary, and it continued so during the following reign, under Hast-Pal, who seems to have ruled only for a short time.

Prithvi-Pal, c. A.D. 1756, was a contemporary of Amrit-Pal of Basohli, and they were of the same age.

On his accession Amrit-Pal freed Bhadu from tribute and treated Prithvi-Pal with generosity. The Basohli *Vansavali,* however, states that Bhadu was still under Basohli. It says, " Amrit-Pal obtained Bhadu by the favour of Ranjit-Dev" of Jammu, and this note is significant of the political position of both States at that period.

On the decline of Mughal power in the Panjab, the Jammu Chief, like the Katoch Raja of Kangra, was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to regain his freedom and consolidate his power at the expense of his neighbours. Till then Jammu was only a small principality, surrounded by many other States of much the same size, such as Chanehni, Bandralta and Jasrota. Under Dhrub-Dev, who ruled from about 1703 to 1750, Jammu began to assert supremacy over the other States, and Ranjit-Dev, his son, extended his power over the outer hills from the Chinab to the Ravi, making the other States more or less dependent and tributary. Even Kashtwar, far in the interior of the mountains, as well as Chamba to the east of the Ravi, was brought under his control. Before the middle of the century Basohli had become entirely dependent on Jammu ; and the *Vansavali* states that Jit-Pal, father of Amrit-Pal (A.D. 1736-57) " used to assist Drub-Dev " in his military expeditions. Bhadu must have shared in this dependent relationship, and we may assume that soon after A.D. 1750,

on the accession of Ranjit-Dev, the Jammu supremacy was fully established over both States. In 1774 Amrit-Pal of Basohli, with the assistance of Jammu and probably Bhadu, invaded Chamba and seized two districts lying near the border, named Bhalai and Jundh, which had for many centuries been a bone of contention between the two States. On Ranjit-Dev's death in 1781, the Chamba Chief seems to have appealed to his son and successor, Brajraj-Dev, as lord paramount, for a restoration of the districts. By him a letter, still extant, was issued in 1781 for the surrender of the tracts, and on the refusal of the Basohli Raja to comply, Raj-Singh of Chamba, in 1782, invaded and conquered Basohli and recovered the districts by force. The transfer was then confirmed by another letter from Brajraj-Dev in 1783.[1]

Meanwhile the Raja of Basohli had called in the Sikhs to help in repelling the invading force, and having fulfilled their mission they refused to depart, and Basohli and Bhadu thus came under their control. Mr. Forster who passed through Basohli in 1783 remarks :[2]— " A bordering Chief (Chamba) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants and burnt their villages, before any opposition was made. The Sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it."

From this time Bhadu like Basohli became subject to the Sikhs.

Mr. Forster was probably the first European who ever visited Bhadu or Buddoo as he calls it. The whole country from Basohli, where Forster crossed the Ravi, almost to Bhadu had been devastated in the recent invasion by Chamba, and at Basohli he was recommended to make a quick progress through the country, avoiding the track of the Sikhs, hence the detour by Bhadu instead of following the direct road to Sambarta.

He has some interesting remarks on the desolating results of the invasion. He says :[3]—" The journey of this evening (from Basohli), solitary and dreary, gave a wrong bent to every spring of the imagination, which sullenly refused to receive one cheerful or pleasing idea. If such did

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[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 70, c. 25 and c. 31,
[2] Forster, *Travels*, Volume. I, pages 270-1-2,
[3] *Ibid.*, Volume I pages 270-1.

begin to shoot forth, the prospect of a deserted village, a desolate country, immediately destroyed it and introduced in its stead those pregnant with the horrors of war. An obliging housekeeper in the village of Plassee accommodated me this evening, more agreeably than I could have expected. His tenement was composed of materials that had resisted the late conflagration of the country, and he had with his family the quiet possession of it."

On the following day Forster reached Bhadu which he speaks of as " the residence of a petty Chief tributary to Jammu," confirming other evidence regarding this tributary relationship. Of Bhadu itself he unfortunately gives us no information, and he spent only one night in the place and the following day reached Mankot.

Later on in his narrative we find the following reference to the political relationship then existing between Jammu as suzerain and Bhadu and Chanehni:—" Though the districts of Buddoo and Chinanee do not at this day form immediate appendages of Jumbo, they are so intimately dependent on its policy that, to avoid prolixity, I will throw their limits into one description. This united territory is bounded on the north by the river Chinam (Chinab) which divides it from Kishtewar : on the east by independent Hindu districts : on the south by Bissouly and on the west by the Punjab."

Prithvi-Pal probably had a long reign, and was succeeded by his son, *Jai-Singh*, who seems to have ruled till some time later than 1820. In his reign the State came completely under the control of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, probably about 1808-9, but the Raja continued to rule under the burden of a yearly tribute. He was, however, the last Chief of Bhadu to exercise any real power.

Soon after 1820 all authority in the hills, between the Ravi and the Jehlam passed into the hands of Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu and his two brothers, Raja Dhian-Singh and Raja Suchet-Singh. They, too, were under Sikh supremacy, but their allegiance was purely nominal. Gulab-Singh ruled in Jammu and extended his power over many of the surrounding States, especially towards the north ; Dhian-Singh, from his principality of Punch, controlled the hill tracts between the Jehlam and the Chinab ; and Suchet-Singh, to whom Bandralta (Ramnagar) had been granted in fief, brought under his sway all the States to the east, including

Mankot (Ramkot) and Bhadu. The remaining States of Jasrota and Basohli were made over to Hira-Singh, eldest son of Raja Dhian-Singh, to whom Ranjit-Singh was dotingly attached, and who was made a Raja in 1828.

Vigne states that when he passed through the country [1] in February, 1839, Basohli also was under Suchet-Singh. This, however, was probably a mistake, as the State had been conferred on Raja Hira-Singh, and Suchet-Singh's boundary was a few miles west of the town. He was probably unaware of the existence of Bhadu as a separate State.

In any case we may assume that from about 1835 Bhadu came entirely under the control of the Dogras. In 1844 both Suchet-Singh and Hira-Singh were killed, and their States were annexed to Jammu and came under the rule of Raja Gulab-Singh.

On the conclusion of the first Sikh war in the spring of 1846, the hill tracts between the Ravi and the Indus were transferred by the Treaty of 16th March, 1846, to Raja Gulab-Singh, and the dispossessed Chiefs were given the option of remaining in their territory and drawing the pension assigned them from Jammu, or of removing into British territory.

Jai-Singh had died some time previous to this, and his son, *Autar Singh*, elected to abandon the State, and took up his residence at Tilokpur near Kotla in Kangra District, where the family still reside in receipt of a pension of Rs. 3,000 annually.

Two junior branches reside near Sandhara and Chuari, respectively, in Chamba State.

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 172.

CHAPTER XXI.

Kashtwar State.

The Kashtwar State was situated in the inner Himalaya to the east of Kashmir, and included a section of the Chandrabhaga Valley, extending from Nagsun to Ramban. The original name of the State was Kashthavata as found in the *Rajatarangini.* It was bounded on the north by Ladakh, on the east by Padar and Chamba, on the south by Bhadrawah, and on the west by Kashmir. In extent it corresponded with the present Kashtwar *tahsil* of Jammu, if Padar be excluded.

In its palmy days Kashtwar embraced the following provinces or districts :—

1. *Kashtwar Proper*—including the plateau and neighbouring country on the left bank of the Chinab.
2. *Nagsun*—the main valley of the Chandrabhaga between Kashtwar and Padar, as far as the Lidrari Nala which was the boundary with Padar in Chamba.
3. *Sartali or Shatli*—a small valley on the left bank of the Chandrabhaga to the south of Kashtwar.
4. *Surur*—a small valley to the south of Sartali.
5. *Bhonjwah*- the valley of the Bhonjwah Nala south of Surur, bordering with Balesa in Bhadrawah.
6. *Dachin and Maru-Wardwan*—comprising the whole of the Maru-Wardwan Valley.
7. *Udil*—the country to the north-west of Kashtwar in the valley of the Kasher Khol, a tributary of the Maru-Wardwan river.
8. *Kontwara*—the territory on the right bank of the Chandrabhaga between Udil and Doda-Saraj.
9. *Doda-Saraj*—on the right bank of the Chandrabhaga from Sihghat to Doda. The former name was Mahabul.
10. *Banihal*—from Doda to Ramban.

The capital of the State, also called Kashtwar, is situated on an open plateau on the left bank of the Chandrabhaga river, near the point where it is joined by the Maru-Wardwan from the north. This plateau is six miles long and two broad, and is undulating, especially at its northern end. At this point the Chandrabhaga emerges from the mountain gorges of Nagsun, and making a sudden bend to the south flows in a deep gorge, along two sides of the plateau in its passage to the outer hills. The town stands near the middle of the plateau and is small and mean, containing a population of about 2,000 souls. Many of the houses are in a ruinous condition, and the place generally presents an appearance of decay. Its glory passed away with the departure of

the ancient rulers. Few traces now remain of the buildings occupied by the Rajas, as they were almost entirely destroyed when the State came under the control of Jammu in 1820. The mud fort to the south of the town is said to stand on the site of the Raja's palace. No ancient temples exist in the town, all of them having been demolished soon after the royal family embraced Islam. Most of the inhabitants of the town are Muhammadans, and there are two renowned *Ziarats* or tombs of saints—one in the town and the other at the southern end of the *chaugan*. Both are associated with the Muhammadan saints, Sayyid Farid-ud-din and his son, Israr-ud-din, the former of whom came to Kashtwar from Baghdad during the reign of Shahjahan, and it was through his influence that the ruling family embraced Islam.

The *chaugan* or "village green"[1] is situated at a distance of half a mile to the north of the town and presents a very fine appearance, being in fact famous all through the hills, as the distinguishing feature of Kashtwar.

At the southern end are six Chinar trees of great size. Originally there are said to have been twelve, but six were cut down in 1785-86 during an invasion from Chamba.

The chief source of information for the history of Kashtwar is a vernacular history compiled by the late Pir Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of the Israr-ud-din *Ziarat*, and is in manuscript.[2] It is unfortunate that no other records exist, in the form of rock and other inscriptions, to aid us. So far as known there are only two copper-plate title-deeds, and they are of comparatively recent date. This paucity of historical material in comparison with a State like Chamba is remarkable. There are, however, references to Kashtwar in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana and later authors, as well as in some of the Muhammadan histories, which are of great value.

The earliest historical notice of Kashtwar is to be found in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. There it is stated that in the winter of A.D. 1087-88 during the reign of Raja Kalasa (A.D. 1063-89), several hill Chiefs visited Kashmir to pay their homage to the Raja, who was at that period lord-paramount of the hills, and among them was "Uttamaraja, the ruler of Kashthavata."[3] This reference proves that the

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[1] The *chaugan* or "green" is a common feature in the hills, either inside or outside a town. It is now used as a promenade and for sports, but was formerly also a parade ground. The word in Hindi means a "plain" and in Persian "the game of polo."

[2] Pir Ghulam Muhai-ud-Din was a man of eminent attainments, an accomplished Persian and Arabic scholar. In the *Ziarat* there is a large number of miniature portraits of the Rajas of Kashtwar.

[3] *Rajatarrangini*, VII, *v.* 588-590, Stein.

State was then in existence and under the rule of its own Chief. There is, however, no name in the Chronicle exactly corresponding to that in the *Rajatarangini*, the nearest to it being the names of Udhat-Dev and Mata-Dev, the eighth and ninth in succession, respectively, from the reputed founder of the dynasty. Assuming that one or other of these is the name of the Raja in question, in a corrupt form, and allowing twenty years to a reign, we may conclude that the State was founded in the beginning of the tenth century.

There are several references to Kashtwar in the second, third and fourth Chronicles[1] of Kashmir, but they do not throw much light on Kashtwar history, though they show that, repeatedly, Kashtwar became a place of refuge for persons who, for some reason or other, had to flee from Kashmir.

Turning now to the Muhammadan historians, we find references to Kashtwar in the pages of Ferishta.[2] The first of these is in connection with a recorded invasion of the country by the King of Kashmir, in A.H. 954=A.D. 1547. Down to that time there had been, according to the vernacular history in which the invasion is also recorded, twenty-eight Rajas in succession; and allowing twenty-three years to a reign, which is not excessive, we are led to much the same conclusion. We may therefore assume with a fair amount of probability that Kashtwar State was founded about A.D. 900. If, however, we allow for the possibility that some names may have dropped out of the record in the process of copying, a thing as we know of common occurrence in former times, the date may be put back for nearly a hundred years.

This possibility is interesting in connection with a claim put forward in the chronicles of four Hill States to a common ancestry from the Rajput Rajas of Bengal.[3] These States are: Suket, Keonthal, Kashtwar and Mandi. In the Suket *Vansavali* it is stated that of three brothers who then composed the family, one founded Suket, the second, Keonthal, and the third, Kashtwar. In the case of Kashtwar, the name of the founder does not agree with that in the Suket *Vansavali*, but, as already mentioned, the claim of the family to be descended from the Rajas of Bengal is distinctly made.

The most difficult problem in connection with the history of Kashtwar is its chronology, and we have been unable to

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[1] Second Chronicle (Jonaraja), *v.* 79; third Chronicle (Srivara) I, *v.* 45; fourth Chronicle, *vs.* 737, 740, 786, 793, 818, 829.

[2] *Ferishta,* Briggs trans., 1910. Volume IV, pages 500 ,522 528.

[3] *Gazetteers of Mandi and Suket.*

fix a date for the reign of any Raja, previous to that of Rai-Singh in A.D. 1547. Many of the names, too, are probably in a corrupt form, as is often the case when written in Persian characters. It will be noted that the original suffix of the ruling family was Sena, as in Keonthal, Suket and Mandi down to the present day.

Tradition has handed down the popular belief that at one time the whole of the Chandrabhaga Valley, from Singpur in the Kasher Khol Valley to Tantari at the junction of the Balesa Nala, was a vast lake formed by a rocky barrier across the river bed. Geologically this is not at all improbable, but it cannot have been within the human period. The drainage of this lake is ascribed to supernatural causes, but we may well believe that it was due to the ordinary forces of nature, by the gradual wearing down of the strata in the river bed.

The population of the valley in former times cannot have materially differed from that of other parts of the Western Hills, and the history of the country, previous to the foundation of the State, seems to have been similar to that of other hill tracts. In the common tradition and folklore of the people, numerous references are found to the ancient petty rulers who, as elsewhere, bore the title of Rana or Thakur. The title of Rana is little known in the main Chandrabhaga Valley from Kashtwar downwards, but in Nagsun and the side valleys of Surur and Bhonjwah, evidences of their rule are common. In the *Rajatarangini* several references occur to the Thakurs of the Chandrabhaga Valley, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this title seems to have been prevalent in the tracts where at the present time few or no Rana traditions exist.[1] Two of these Thakurs supported Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir.

The earliest reference in the vernacular history is to an invasion of the plateau on which the town of Kashtwar is situated, by two tribes, probably from the neighbouring hills—called Rotar and Ganai. The Rotar founded the village of Ziora, and the Ganai settled near the centre of the plateau, where the town now stands. Both of these tribes are still represented in the population, and rank as sub-divisions of the Thakkur caste, which is the chief agricultural community in the hills. The name of Rotar may possibly

[1] Vide *J. P. H. S.*, Volume III, No. I, page 45. *Rajatarangini*, trans. Stein, VIII *v.* 548-554.

be an abbreviation of "Ranotar"=Ranaputra,[1] and, if so, we may infer that Ranas ruled the valleys to the north and east of Kashtwar. It is probable, that the Rathi and Thakkur caste is indicated, and that these petty Chiefs continued to rule till after the foundation of the State, possibly under the nominal suzerainty of Kashmir.

The next event is strangely in keeping with what we find in the history of several other Hill States. We are told that the country was invaded and conquered by a king of Suru in Ladakh, called Khri Sultan, who held the main valley as far down as Tantari, at the mouth of the Balesa Nala. The name of the town was then changed to Bhotnagar, most likely by the Hindu inhabitants of the hill tracts. Khri Sultan's rule is said to have been mild and conciliatory, but he soon became homesick and returned to his native land. The use of the title of Sultan would seem to indicate that the leader of the Tibetan invaders was a Muhammadan, but we know that the Muhammadans did not obtain a footing in Ladakh till a much later period, when they conquered Baltistan or Little Tibet. There is, however, another explanation: the rulers of Suru and Kartse, near Kargil in Ladakh, were called *Khri-rgyalpo*, but on embracing Islam they took the title of *Khri Sultan*, pronounced *Tri Sultan*, and this would point to one of the Buddhist kings of Suru or Kartse having been the leader referred to. Rev. A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission at Leh says: "The word *Khri*, meaning 'throne,' is pronounced *Tri*, and the *Tri Sultans* mentioned in the Kashtwar history correspond exactly to the *Khri Sultans* of Ladakh history. These Chiefs resided at Suru and Kartse, and called themselves *Khri-rgyalpo* (throne king) before they became Muhammadans in the fifteenth century."[2] We may perhaps trace a connection between this invasion and the Chinese invasion of Kashmir in A.D. 713; as the result of which, for many years afterwards, Kashmir continued to pay tribute to China. We may, therefore, assume that the conquest of Kashtwar by Khri Sultan happened in the eighth or ninth century. A similar invasion of Brahmapura, the original name of Chamba State, by the Kiras, most probably Tibetans, took place about the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and Kulu also was conquered by the Tibetans in the twelfth century and remained for a long time subject to Ladakh.

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[1] *Ranaputra*, 'son of a Rana'; in analogy with *Rajaputra*, 'son of a Raja.'

[2] *Western Tibet*, by Francke, page 48.

The next invasion of the Chandrabhaga Valley was from the south. Even at that early period there seems to have been a good deal of communication with the plains, and in the annals mention occurs of a tribe named Panjsasi, who appear to have been a trading community from the Punjab. They dealt in medicines and other hill products, such as dried apricots, which they received in exchange for goods. The name of the dried apricot—so commonly used in the hills—is *kishta* in the local dialect: hence the derivation of the word Kishtwar, according to local etymology, meaning "the place of dried apricots." Another derivation is from the word *kasht*, meaning "trouble." Hence the following rhyme:[1]—

Kashtwar, kasht ka banda.
Din ko bhukha, rat ko thanda.
Jo ki ae jab wuh jae
Wuh hai gusain ka jhanda.

Kashtwar is the servant of adversity.
Hungry by day and cold by night.
Whoever comes, when he departs,
Is as thin as a gosain's flag-staff.

This latter derivation, however, is from the lips of Kashmiris, and may be only a play upon the name. The name *Kashthavata* is a Sanskritized rather than a true Sanskrit word, and if taken literally can only mean a "garden of wood"; the second member of the word *vata-var*, meaning "enclosure" or "garden."

Some of the Panjsasi settled down on the plateau and mingled with the other tribes, with whom for a time they lived on terms of friendship. But in consequence of some disagreement, a quarrel arose, and the Panjsasi being the more warlike, the Rotar and Ganai were subdued. But this did not end the strife, as the local tribes tried to recover their independence, and frequent encounters took place between the rival tribes. The Panjsasi lived near the southern end of the plateau in the vicinity of the Hoderi spring, and being constantly in dread of an attack they did not lay aside their arms even when engaged in field labour.

Such was the condition of things in Kashtwar when *Kahn-Sen*, the founder of the State, with a small band of followers, arrived in the hills in order to conquer a kingdom for himself. He is said to have come from Gaur, the ancient

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, page 203.

capital of Bengal, and to have been a cadet of the ruling family of that place, which again was related to the ruling family of Ujjain in Malwa. It is more likely, as already stated, that Kahn-Sen was a cadet of the Suket ruling family. When two or more States were founded by members of the same family, it was customary for each of them to claim priority of descent. Kahn-Sen penetrated into the Chandrabhaga Valley and reached a place called Kandani, twelve miles south of Kashtwar, and there he halted for some time to mature his plans for the capture of the plateau. After much deliberation, it was decided to obtain the help of some one belonging to the place, and a woman of the Panjsasi tribe, in return for a large bribe, consented to give the information required. From her Kahn-Sen learnt that once a year on a certain day in the month of Phagun (February-March) a special festival was held at the Hoderi spring. On that day the Panjsasi were in the habit of laying aside their arms and donning fine clothes, after which they gathered at the spring for certain religious ceremonies. It was still three months to the date of the festival, but Kahn-Sen decided on delay, and meanwhile made all the necessary preparations for an attack. On the night preceding the day of the festival he advanced with his small force from Kandani and, scaling the height at the southern end of the plateau, laid an ambush around the Hoderi spring. It was still winter and snow was falling, but to this they paid no heed. In the morning, as the woman had told them, the Panjsasi, according to custom, assembled in fine clothes and without their arms, and thus fell an easy prey to the enemy. Kahn-Sen then subdued the other tribes, took possession of the place and proclaimed himself Raja.

Soon after, he began the extension of his kingdom by leading a force across the Chandrabhaga at Sihghat, near Kandani, with which he subdued the tribes of Kontwara and Udil, on the right bank, returning to Kashtwar by Bandarkot at the junction of the Maru-Wardwan river with the Chinab. Thereafter he built a palace for himself on the ridge where the fort now stands.

Kahn-Sen was succeeded by his son, *Gandharab-Sen*; and his second son, Madan-Sen, settled in the village of Mata near the *chaugan*, while his third son, Dev-Sen, established himself in Maru.[1]

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[1] The Maliks of Maru-Wardwan trace their descent from the Rajas of Gaur, Bengal.

Gandharab-Sen reigned fourteen years and was followed in succession by *Maha-Sen*; *Ram-Sen*; *Kam-Sen*; *Madan-Sen*; *Brahm-Sen*; *Udhat-Dev*[1]; *Mata-Dev* and *Ganga-Dev*, of whom the last conquered Polar and Charji and added them to his kingdom. Then followed *Sang-Dev*; *Rakh-Dev*; *Indar-Dev*; *Autar-Dev* and *Bhag-Dev*, of whom nothing is on record.

Rai-Dev was the next ruler, and of him an interesting incident is told. As has already been stated, the hill tracts, previous to the advent of the Rajas, were under local petty rulers who in the Chandrabhaga Valley near Kashtwar bore the title of Rana or Thakur. After their subjection they clung for a long time to the hope of regaining their independence, and revolts were of frequent occurrence. Such an event took place in Kashtwar during the reign of Rai-Dev, by a rising of the Rotar and Ganai.

The revolt was successful, and the Raja was driven out of his capital; and his escape having been cut off by guards at Bandarkot and Sihghat, he with a few followers sought an asylum on the mountain of Goganbaran, overlooking the plateau on the east side. There he remained for a year, and for his support his people brought under cultivation a small portion of land, which down to the present day bears the name of *Rai-Dev Tahavan*.

All attempts to recover possession of the capital having failed, the Raja at last determined to resort to the stratagem which had proved so successful in the time of his ancestor, Kahn-Sen. Accordingly, he and his following descended to the plateau in the dead of night, just before the yearly festival in Phagun, and took up their position in ambush around the Hoderi spring. In the morning the people came unarmed as usual and were suddenly attacked and overcome. Raja Rai-Dev then resumed his position as ruler, and on his demise was followed by *Gur-Dev* and *Ugar-Dev*, the latter of whom added Sartali or Shatali to his dominions, and granted the village of Ugral in *sasan* or freehold to the temple of Atharah-baju (Ashtabhuji). After him ruled *Muldar-Dev* and *Lachman-Dev*, the latter of whom conquered Dachin in the Maru-Wardwan Valley, and granted lands still called Lachbata to the Brahmans in Palmar.

Sangram-Singh.—The change from the earlier suffix to 'Singh,' in the name of the ruling families of many of the Hill

[1] This may be the Raja who is referred to in the *Rajatarangini*.

States, took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but in the case of Kashtwar it appears to have been at an unusually early period, probably soon after A.D. 1400. Sangram-Singh was the first of the Kashtwar Rajas to assume the new suffix, which was then coming into use. He conquered Nagsun in the main Chandrabhaga Valley above Kashtwar, and added it to his dominions. Previous to this it was, according to tradition, under the rule of its own Ranas. The conquest of these districts one after another is in keeping with the history of the other Hill States, as regards the manner in which each of them was gradually consolidated from a small beginning, and through many centuries of warfare. All the territory thus annexed was won from the Ranas and Thakurs, who continued to rule in the more inaccessible valleys. Nagsun, the district last annexed, adjoined another district in the Chandrabhaga Valley, called Padar, which from early times was subject to Chamba, but ruled by its own Ranas till A.D. 1664. These were then replaced by regular State officials and granted *jagirs*, which they long continued to hold. Even at the present day their ancient status is still recognized though they are now only common farmers.

Sangram-Singh was succeeded by *Sangar-Singh*; *Magan-Singh*; *Deva-Singh*; *Firoz-Singh* and *Narain-Singh*, of whom little is known. During Narain-Singh's reign an army was sent to Malna in Saraj which was reduced. The people then presented a golden orange to the Raja as a *nazar*, and ever afterwards on special festivals it became the custom for the people of Kashtwar to offer a similar present to the Raja.

Salhan-Singh succeeded his father and in his reign Surur and Bhonjwah, as far as the Kali Nai, dividing the latter valley from Balesa, were conquered. On his way back the Raja founded the village of Salhana above Kandani, and named it after himself.

Rai-Singh, A.D. 1547.—With the reign of Raja Rai-Singh we are brought into touch with contemporary Muhammadan history, and from this time onward we may regard the Chronicle as in the main reliable. Kashmir was then under the rule of the Muhammadan Sultans who succeeded the Rajput dynasty in A.D. 1339, and held power till expelled by Akbar in A.D. 1586. The ruler of Kashmir at the time of Raja Rai-Singh was Sultan Nazuk, A.D. 1541-52, and the Chronicle records an invasion of Kashtwar during his reign, which is fully authenticated by the Muhammadan historian, Ferishta.

This invasion took place in A.D. 1547, and the object seems to have been to conquer the country. The Kashmir army was under the command of one Mirza Haider Doghlat,[1] who seems to have come from Kashgar and then settled in Kashmir and afterwards usurped the throne. Mirza Haider led the invading force in person, and his second in command was one Koka Mir, whom Ferishta names Bandgan Koka. The army crossed the Marbal Pass and descended into the Kasher Kol Nala, where the Kashtwar army was encamped to oppose them. The account of the expedition in Ferishta is as follows :—[2] "Shortly afterwards Mirza Haider proceeded for the purpose of attacking the country of Kashtwar and deputed Bandgan Koka, with other officers, in command of the advance guard of the army. This detachment made one march from Charlu to Dote, a distance of three days' journey, came up with the Kashtwar army and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Neither army could cross, and a sharp discharge of arrows and musketry was kept up, though without much effect. Some stragglers from Mirza Haidar's camp lost their road and joined the advance at Wary ; but upon their arrival there, a violent gale of wind came on, and raised the dust of the whole plain. At this moment a small detachment of the Kashtwar army, then in the town, taking advantage of the circumstance, rallied and attacked the invaders. Bandgan Koka and twenty-five officers of note were killed, and the detachment made the best of its way to join Mirza Haidar."

The Kashtwar records give a graphic account of the incident :—" On hearing of the advance of the Kashmir army the Raja became much alarmed and took counsel with the officials as to the best way of offering resistance. Everything seemed hopeless, when an old woman, who had the reputation of being a witch, came forward and undertook to avert the danger single-handed. Taking only a spear in her hand she went to a point on the road, about a mile west of Mughal-Maidan. There the precipice descends straight to the river brink and the road along its face was a mere track ; it is narrow even now. This was the only way by which the invaders could advance and only in single file. Concealing herself in a recess she awaited their approach, and with her spear pushed each man, as he came opposite to her, over the preci-

[1] Author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Vide *Ferishta*,, Brigg's trans., reprint 1910, Volume IV, pages 500, 501, 502. Also *Akbarnamah*, trans. Beveridge, Volume I Chap. XXV, page 348 ; Chap. XXVI, pages 351, 355, 357, 359-360 ; and Chap. XXXI.
[2] *Ferishta*, trans. Briggs, 1910, Volume IV, page 500.

pice. Owing to the nature of the ground those behind were unaware of what was happening till many had been killed; and then the army was thrown into confusion and had to retreat, being harassed all the way by the Kashtwar forces which occupied the heights above."

Vijai-Singh, A.D. 1550.—Vijai-Singh conquered Saraj, on the right bank of the Chinab above Doda, and built a fort and a village which he named Vijai. He afterwards went to Badat in Surur to suppress an outbreak—probably among the Ranas and Thakurs—and was attacked at night and killed. His son, Bahadur-Singh, escaped and fled to Kashtwar, where he took refuge among the Ganai. The officials, however, heard of his presence and installed him as Raja, after which they suppressed the revolt.

Bahadur-Singh, A.D. 1570.—The year of Bahadur-Singh's accession is uncertain. Another invasion of Kashtwar took place in A.D. 1572 during his reign, under the command of Ali Shah Chak, King of Kashmir. The Raja seeing that resistance was useless agreed to become tributary, and gave his sister, Shankar-Dei, in marriage to Yakub Shah Chak, grandson of the king.[1] The invasion is also mentioned by Ferishta and the country is called Gunwar. Yakub Shah Chak succeeded his grandfather as King of Kashmir in A.D. 1586, and made a brave resistance to the Mughals under Akbar's generals, on their invasion of Kashmir. He was, however, defeated and fled to Kashtwar. The story of his unsuccessful resistance to the Mughals is related in detail in the fourth Chronicle and also in Ferishta. Akbar's General, Qasim Khan (cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. by Blochmann, I, page 379, No. 59) invaded Kashmir, whereupon Yakub Shah Chak retired to Kashtwar. The Mughal army entered Srinagar in the month of Kartik of the Saka year 1508 (A.D. 1586). On a favourable opportunity arising, Yakub Shah returned from Kashtwar and attacked the city, but on being repulsed discord broke out among his followers, and he had again to retire to Kashtwar. In the following spring (A.D. 1587), he reappeared in Kashmir and started a guerilla warfare, keeping to the mountains and harassing the Mughal army in the valley. As Qasim Khan did not succeed in subduing him, Akbar sent Mirza Yusuf Khan (*cf.* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, page 346, No. 35) who compelled Yakub Shah to submit after two years' pursuit. Ferishta states that he was sent to Delhi where Akbar enrolled him and his father,

[1] *Ferishta*, trans. Briggs, 1910, Volume IV, page 522. In Ferishta the name is *Shah Chak*: other authorities give *Khan Chak*.

Yusuf Shah Chak, who had been for some time in Delhi, among the nobles of his Court, and granted them estates in the province of Bihar. Unfortunately there is no reference to a Raja of Kashtwar in either authority. The Kashtwar records state that Yakub Shah Chak died in Kashtwar about A.D. 1588, and was buried at Sirkot on the *chaugan*. His widow, Shankar-Dei, continued to reside in Kashtwar and, in memory of her husband, she had a water-course constructed from the Goganbaran stream to the town, and a masonry tank made, called Darang-Vajai, as also another water-course from Kali-Nag to the village of Zewar.

Bahadur-Singh must have had a long reign and died some time in A.D. 1588. He was succeeded by his son, Partap-Singh.

Partap-Singh, A.D. 1588.—He also bore the name of Bhup-Singh. In his reign, probably about A.D. 1606, an army was sent by the Emperor Jahangir to conquer Kashtwar, under the command of Ahmad Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mirza Muhammad Khan. The army crossed the Marbal Pass and reached Singpur, but on the way down the valley it was met by the Kashtwar forces and defeated.[1] Many of the Mughals were killed by stones rolled down the mountain slopes, among them being Mirza Muhammad Khan, one of the commanders, and probably related to the Emperor. On hearing of her husband's death, his widow broke out into great lamentations, and took an oath to give herself no rest till she had bathed her hands in the blood of those who killed him, and cast the very dust of Kashtwar into the Chandrabhaga. Accordingly, she sent to Jahangir, and he despatched 10,000 men under Z'-ul-Qadr and Dilawar Khan to destroy Kashtwar. The widow accompanied the army, and on its approach to the capital *via* Singpur, the Kashtwaris broke down the *jhula* or swing bridge at Bandarkot, so that the Chandrabhaga could not be crossed. The Mughals therefore settled down on a plain called Brinj-Bagh, built a fort, made a tank, laid out a garden and planted trees. Popular tradition affirms that they remained there for fourteen years. They then bribed the villagers of Puchal, Pohi and Holu to help them to throw a *jhula* (rope bridge)[2] across the river, and under cover of

[1] It was probably on this occasion that the place received the name of Mughal Maidan or Mughal Mizar. *Cf.* Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 119, note.

[2] The ropes are made of hazel or willow twigs, three in number and of great thickness, one for each hand and one for the feet, and suspended firmly from each bank.

night reached the left bank and advanced to the *chaugan*. A battle ensued in which the Kashtwar army was defeated and the Raja fled to Bhadrawah. The widow took up her abode on the *chaugan* for three months, and began to lay waste the country. The people then went and begged her to put a stop to the destruction of life and property. She replied that they must devise some way of relieving her from the vow she had taken, to cast even the dust of the place into the river. Finally, after consultation, it was agreed that a tank should be dug near the grave of Yakub Shah Chak and the earth thrown into the Chandrabhaga, and thus she was released from her vow. The tank has ever since been called Sirkot. The Mughals then retired to Kashmir, and Raja Bhup-Singh returned from Bhadrawah and died about A.D. 1610.

Gur-Singh, A.D. 1618.—In the year following Gur-Singh's accession, being the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign (1619) there was another invasion of Kashtwar, which is described in detail in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.[1] Dilawar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, was appointed to the command of the force of 10,000 men, accompanied by his son, Hassan. One division advanced by the Marbal Pass, called Singinpur in the record, under Dilawar Khan himself ; another under the command of Jalal, a second son, and other officers, by another pass, probably the Sinthan Pass ; and a third, under his eldest son Jamal, acted as advance guard to his own force.

The advance forces met on the descent from the passes at a place called Narkot and put to flight the Kashtwar army. The Mughals then pressed on to the bridge over the Maru-Wardwan river, where they were held up for twenty days by hard fighting, and then advanced to Bandarkot on the Chinab, near Kashtwar. After a delay of four months and ten days they managed to throw a *jhula*, or rope bridge, over the river by night, some distance up, and 200 Afghans crossed and attacked the enemy at early dawn, taking them completely by surprise. One of the soldiers came upon the Raja and was about to kill him when he called out : "I am the Raja, take me alive to Dilawar Khan."

The town was sacked and the country laid waste, and an officer, Nasrullah Arab, was placed in charge of the State. The Raja was taken to Kashmir in chains and brought before the Emperor, on his arrival in the summer of 1620. He was treated with much clemency, and told that if he brought

[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume II, pages 135-6-7-8.

his ons to court he should be released from confinement, otherwise he would be imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindustan. This he promised to do.

Jahangir was favourably impressed with the Raja's appearance. He remarks :—"He is not wanting in dignity. His dress is after the Indian fashion, and he knows both the Hindi and the Kashmiri languages; contrary to the other zamindars of these regions he looked like the inhabitant of a town."

Shortly afterwards news came that an outbreak had taken place in Kashtwar, in consequence of harsh treatment, and Nasrullah Arab and his force had been destroyed.[1]

It would appear that on receipt of this news the Raja was deported to Delhi and imprisoned in Gwalior Fort, then the State prison. The outbreak was suppressed with great difficulty and only after some time.

In the summer of A.D. 1622 Gur-Singh was liberated and permitted to return to Kashtwar, on condition of allegiance and tribute and a promise to send his son to court, as the vernacular history states. The Emperor's note is :—"Having brought Gunwar-Singh, the Raja of Kashtwar, out of the fortress of Gwalior where he was imprisoned, I bestowed Kashtwar on him, and gave him a horse and a dress of honour, with the title of Raja." Probably his full name was Gunwar-Singh, of which Gur was an abbreviation. He had been imprisoned for about two years.

About five years later Jahangir died and Shahjahan ascended the throne (A.D. 1628). Gur-Singh came with the usual tribute, which the Emperor, probably then in Kashmir, accepted, and recognised Jagat-Singh as *Tika* or heir-apparent. Gur-Singh was much delighted and distributed a lakh of rupees, kine and clothing, among the needy. The Raja, on returning to his capital, built good houses and a fine *deorhi* or anteroom, 27 feet long by 18 feet broad. He also built a palace at Bandarkot on the Chinab.

In A.D. 1629 Shahjahan decided on an invasion of the Dakhan, and the princes at his court were called upon to accompany him. Among them was Bhagwan-Singh, younger son of Gur-Singh, who attracted the notice of the Emperor by his bravery, and was rewarded on the return of the army to Agra. Gur-Singh died in A.D. 1629, and was succeeded by his son, Jagat-Singh.

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[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Volume II, page 170.

Jagat-Singh, A.D. 1629.—Some time after his accession Jagat-Singh invaded Bhadrawah, and in his absence a force from Balor (Basohli), under Raja Bhupat-Pal and an officer named Kantak, probably a member of the Balauria family, advanced upon Kashtwar and captured it. Jagat-Singh at once returned and made every effort to recover his State, but in the end was defeated and killed. This invasion is confirmed by the Balor annals which state that Bhupat-Pal conquered Kashtwar and brought from there the *linga* of Nilakanth which is still worshipped in Basohli. He is said to have planted " reversed cedars " in Kashtwar.

Bhagwan-Singh, A.D. 1642.—On hearing of his brother's death, Bhagwan-Singh approached the Emperor and obtained from him an army of 1,000 men from Kashmir to enable him to recover the State. On his departure Bhagwan-Singh was required to leave some one as a hostage, and he named one, Ghias-ud-Din, who was accepted.[1] Two brothers, Khatris by caste, named Jewan-Sen and Kahn-Sen, were sent with him to help in the administration, and they enjoyed the rank of *Khwaja*, probably an honourable distinction at the Mughal court. Their descendants still reside in Kashtwar.[2] The Mughal army advanced from Kashmir by the Marbal Pass, and having defeated the Basohli force captured the leader, named Kantak. He was beheaded and his head used for football on the *chaugan*. Bhagwan-Singh was then installed as Raja, his brother having probably died without issue. To commemorate the defeat of the Balauria troops he instituted a *mela*, called *Kantak Jatra*, to be held yearly on the *chaugan*. After this the Mughal army was sent back to Kashmir. Bhagwan-Singh is said to have added Ramban to the State.

Maha-Singh, A.D. 1661.—Maha-Singh was also known by the name of Mahajan. He is referred to in the annals as having been just and generous, wise and learned and also a poet. Some of his compositions are still extant. He was also well read in the Hindu *shastras*, and was superior to the Rajas of his time. During his reign Kashtwar enjoyed a great measure of prosperity, and the capital had a large population. The following incident is told of him :—" One year there was no rain and the country suffered from a severe famine. As a remedy for the distress, the Raja proceeded to

[1] The State hostage was usually a member of the royal family ; this seems to have been an exception to the rule.

[2] Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 119.

a place called Chauki Khalawa to do obeisance to the god Nilakanth (*i.e.*, Siva). With his face to the east he recited a poem composed by himself in praise of the deity, and describing the miserable condition of his subjects. The prayer was heard, and as soon as the Raja had finished his eulogy rain fell in torrents. The Raja then returned to the capital and fed Brahmans as a token of gratitude."

Some time after his accession, Aurangzeb ordered the *Vakil* of Kashtwar at the Mughal court to send for the Raja, and meantime the State hostage, Ghias-ud-din, was thrown into prison.[1] Abdul-Qasim, his son, at once set off to Kashtwar to summon the Raja. The Raja, however, did not comply, but in order to appease the Emperor's wrath, he agreed to build a mosque and employ mullahs from Kashmir, with a grant of land for their maintenance. A large number of civil appointments were also given to Muhammadans. Abdul-Qasim then returned to Delhi and reported all these things to the Emperor. Failing the father, Jaya-Singh, the eldest son, was then ordered to repair to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. He was afterwards permitted to return home, and was welcomed with great manifestations of joy. Ghias-ud-Din continued to act as hostage for the State, and on his death one, Muhabat Khan, was appointed. Mahajan had three sons, named, respectively, Jaya-Singh, Ram-Singh and Sirdar-Singh, and abdicated in A.D. 1674 in favour of Jaya-Singh.

Jaya-Singh, A.D. 1674.—On his accession Jaya-Singh made his younger brother, Ram-Singh, Wazir of the State, and appointed Sirdar-Singh to the command of the army. He issued orders not to permit any Muhammadan visitors to remain longer than a day in the territory, failing which they would be punished. Ram-Singh was sent to Delhi, probably as a hostage, in company with Abdul-Qasim, whose father had acted as hostage for the State during Bhagwan-Singh's reign. The Raja's youngest brother, Sirdar-Singh, seems to have become discontented and retired to Kashmir, and being unable to obtain his object, he then proceeded to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. When Jaya-Singh heard of this he at once sent his own son, Kirat-Singh, to Delhi. Kashtwar, the capital, was then very prosperous and had 4,000 inhabitants.

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[1] Possibly Ghias-ud-Din acted both as *Vakil* and hostage.

During this reign a famous Muhammadan saint, named Sayyid Muhammad Farid-ud-din Qadiri, came from Baghdad. He was a descendant of Abdul-Qadir of that place and undertook his journey in consequence of a dream, in which he was told to go and preach in Kashtwar. He reached India towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, and remained some years in Agra and Delhi. On finally arriving at Kashtwar he took up his abode, along with his four companions, in the house near the Lakshmi-Narain Temple,[1] which is now the site of his *Ziarat* or tomb, and a famous place of pilgrimage. Raja Jaya-Singh is said to have embraced Islam on seeing the miracles performed by the saint, and received the name of Bakhtiyar Khan. He soon afterwards died and was succeeded by his son, Kirat-Singh.

Kirat-Singh, A.D. 1681.—Kirat-Singh had probably returned from Delhi previous to his father's death and was appointed Raja by Aurangzeb, with Ram-Singh, his uncle, as Wazir. The latter evidently had become a Muhammadan during his residence at the Mughal court, and received the name of Dindar-Khan. Kirat-Singh is reputed to have been a good ruler and solicitous of the welfare of his people.

Some years after his accession his uncle Ram-Singh, Wazir of the State, presented a petition through Hafizullah Khan, in which he stated that Kirat-Singh, his nephew, molested him for having become a Muhammadan. He entreated the Emperor either to dethrone the Raja or compel him to embrace Islam. Therefore, on the advice of Abdul-Qasim who had returned from Delhi, Kirat-Singh agreed to become a Muhammadan. One account states that he was converted by force in the Shah Hamadan *Ziarat* at Srinagar in A.D. 1687. He received the name of Saadat Yar Khan,[2] and the Emperor granted him three lakhs of rupees, an elephant and 60 thousand *kharwars*[3] of grain. The following conditions were imposed upon him : (1) that no tax should be put upon Muhammadans, and no one should be molested for embracing Islam ; (2) that Muhammadan worship should be performed and the 'Id festival duly observed ; (3) that Hindus should be oppressed and kine killed. These orders were engrossed in a document and signed by the Raja in the presence of witnesses, the document being made over to Abdul-Qasim, probably for transmission to the Emperor.

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[1] Sanskrit ; Lakshmi Narayana, *viz.*, Vishnu and his consort, Lakshmi.
[2] This name was given by Aurangzeb. Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 119.
[3] Cf. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 1909, Volume I, page 279:n. *Kharwar*—a weight=10 *mans*.

At the same time Abdul-Qasim was by order of the Emperor appointed Kazı to administer justice in the State.

On hearing of what had happened the people of Kashtwar rose in rebellion and massacred all the Muhammadans on whom they could lay hands. Inayat Ullah, son of Abdul-Qasim, saved his life by taking refuge with Sayyid Shah Farid-ud-din, but a report of the rebellion having reached the Nawab of Kashmir he at once sent an army to suppress it. Kirat-Singh then returned to Kashtwar and his example in embracing Islam was followed by many of his people.

In A.D. 1717 the Shaikh-ul-Islam sent a messenger to the Raja to demand the hand of his sister, Bhup-Dei, in marriage for the Emperor, and accordingly she was sent to Delhi and married to Farrukhsiyar. She was accompanied by the Raja's younger brother, Mian Muhammad Khan, who received a *khillat* and a *jagir* of eight villages in Kashmir.

In Mr. Irvine's " The Later Mughals " (*Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII (1904), page 360) the following note occurs :—" Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill Raja of Kashtwar, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab, A.H. 1131—3rd July, A.D. 1717." Again in Francois Valentin's " Lives of the Great Mughals " (in Dutch, 1725) a passage occurs in which it is stated that Farrukhsiyar had married a Rajput princess, who was the daughter of one of the neighbouring petty kings of the hills, and who consequently was a " gentile " woman, that is, not a Muhammadan. She is said to have become his consort or empress, and this connection caused much scandal among the Muslims, and was the chief reason why Farrukhsiyar was deposed and murdered. Whether this statement is confirmed from other sources we cannot say, but apparently the empress in question was the Kashtwar princess mentioned by Mr. Irvine. The strange point about the matter is that she is said to have been a " heathen " woman. It is, however, quite possible that the ladies of the Kashtwar family adhered to the old faith, although the Raja had become a Muslim. Raja Tegh-Singh, the last ruling Chief of Kashtwar, though himself a Muhammadan, entertained the services of a *parohit*, or family priest, and even issued a grant of land to him ; and it is probable that this custom had continued unbroken in the family in the time of his predecessors.

Kirat-Singh had a long reign of 47 years, and was at last assassinated by one, Krishna Padhiar, at Gulab-Bagh. The

name of the assassin shows that he belonged to the great Thakkur caste, and we may assume that the crime was committed out of resentment against the Raja for abandoning the faith of his ancestors. Krishna for a time asserted control over the State, but Inayat-Ullah, son of Abdul-Qasim, at once set out for Kashmir and returned with a large army. Krishna was defeated and slain and Amluk-Singh, son of Kirat-Singh, was installed as Raja. His name was Sa'adatmand Khan.

Amluk-Singh, A.D. 1728.—Amluk-Singh is said to have given Rs. 10,000 to *darveshes* and other mendicants and ruled uneventfully for 43 years. His sons were: Mihr-Singh, Sujan-Singh, Dalel-Singh and Guman-Singh. There is a copper-plate title-deed of this reign, dated Samvat 1785=A.D. 1728, the year of his accession. He died in 1771.

Mihr-Singh, A.D. 1771.—Mihr-Singh bore the name of Sa'idmand Khan. Soon after his accession Mihr-Singh began to quarrel with his brothers, and Sujan-Singh left the State and went to Jammu.[1] At that time Ranjit-Dev of Jammu had acquired great influence in the hills, following on the decline of the Mughal Empire and the inroads of the Afghans and Marathas into the Panjab. The province had been ceded to Ahmad Shah Durani in 1752 by the Emperor of Delhi, and the rise of the Sikh power added to the general disorder which prevailed. Taking advantage of this, Ranjit-Dev extended his supremacy over all the Hill States between the Ravi and the Chinab, including Kashtwar; and this doubtless was the reason why Sujan-Singh sought his protection. Dalel-Singh, his younger brother, retired to Chamba, in order to ask help from Raja Raj-Singh of that State.

One document states that Mihr-Singh became insane soon after his accession and the government of the State was carried on by his *rani*, Vilasamaji. Mihr-Singh had no son, but his *rani* soon afterwards gave birth to a daughter, who was surreptitiously exchanged for the son of a potter, named Puha, born on the same day. The boy was named Prithi-Singh and recognized as Mihr-Singh's son, though his real parentage seems to have been generally known. Hearing of the condition of affairs the Raja of Basohli invaded Kashtwar, and Mihr-Singh fled to Kashmir, then under Durani rule. This may have been about 1784.

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[1] Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, page 10.

The Chamba annals[1] state that soon after Ranjit-Dev's death in 1781 his son and successor, Brajraj-Dev of Jammu, conveyed the suzerainty of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar to Chamba, and on the instigation of Dalel-Singh, brother of Mihr-Singh, Raja Raj-Singh, of Chamba, in 1786, sent an army under the nominal command of his son, Jit-Singh, then a boy of eleven years of age, to invade Kashtwar. It advanced by way of Bhadrawah and Balesa, which had come under the control of Chamba in 1783-84, as proved by letters in the Chamba archives, dated 1784, owning allegiance on the part of the Raja, Fateh-Pal,[1] and a Bhadrawah contingent accompanied the Chamba force to Kashtwar under Bhup-Chand, brother of the Raja. On the approach of the army to Kashtwar the Basohli forces retreated, carrying away as much booty as they could seize. The Chamba army then took possession of the place and encamped on the *chaugan*, and remained for six months. It was on this occasion that six of the beautiful Chinar trees at the south end of the *chaugan* were cut down for firewood. A letter is still extant in Chamba from the commander of the force, probably to Raj-Singh, stating that on the capture of the town part of it was burnt, but, on receipt of fresh orders from Chamba, no further damage was done.

During the occupation of Kashtwar, one Kundan-Singh, a cadet of the Bhadrawah family, was appointed Raja. He had previously been a refugee in Chamba and returned with the army to Kashtwar.[2] In one letter a reference occurs to a loan of Rs. 29,000, borrowed on his account from Brajraj-Dev of Jammu, for repayment of which Raj-Singh of Chamba became security. It was soon afterwards found that Kundan-Singh was plotting against Chamba, and he was, therefore, deposed and made a prisoner, ultimately dying in Chamba, where his descendants still reside.[3]

Meanwhile Sujan-Singh, who was in Jammu, had been exerting himself on his brother's behalf, and getting together a force of 500 men he joined Raja Mihr-Singh, then still in Kashmir. Another contingent was supplied by the Durani governor of the valley. On their approach to Kashtwar the Chamba army retired. Mihr-Singh died either on the way back to Kashtwar, or soon after his return, and was succeeded by Sujan-Singh.

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[1] *Chamba Gazetteer*, page 100 (2). *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 71, c. 36 and c. 38.

[2] Kundan-Singh was the youngest son of Raja Sampat-Pal of Bhadrawah.

[3] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 70, c. 22 and c. 26.

Sujan-Singh, A.D. 1786.—On his accession Sujan-Singh is said to have visited Chamba at the invitation of the Chamba Chief. This was probably in recognition of the Chamba suzerainty which was still in force. He had a son, named Inayat-Ullah-Singh, now grown up to manhood, who had gone with him to Jammu on his retiring from Kashtwar. On his leaving Jammu in 1786 his son remained, probably as a hostage, and with him was the son of the Raja of Bhadrawah. The Raja of Jammu commanded his officers to give them a *khillat* or dress of honour, and dismiss them to their respective countries. Thereupon Inayat-Ullah-Singh replied that he would go after the Raja's death. The Raja being annoyed at the answer, Inayat-Ullah-Singh was sent to prison in Bahu Fort, near Jammu.

Sujan-Singh's rule lasted only ten months. When he died, a party in the State placed Prithi-Singh, the surreptitious son of Mihr-Singh, on the *gaddi* and made him Raja. Within six months, however, he was pushed into the Chinab by Ajit-Singh, son of Guman-Singh, who then seized the State. On hearing of this, the Jammu Raja sent one of his officers, named Lal-Dev, probably a member of the Jammu ruling family, who ruled the State for two years in a very tyrannical and oppressive manner. Impelled by his exactions the people determined to restore the rightful heir to the *gaddi*, and the Kotwals of Saraj and Kand succeeded in releasing Inayat-Ullah-Singh from his confinement in Bahu Fort, and brougnt him back to Kashtwar, where he was installed as Raja.

Inayat-Ullah-Singh, A.D. 1788.—Soon after his accession Inayat-Ullah-Singh appointed a man, named Nur-ud-din, to some high office in the State, possibly that of Wazir. He seems to have thrown off the suzerainty of Chamba, if it still existed, for w eare told that he invaded Padar and Bhadrawah, both under Chamba, and brought back much booty in cattle and other property, which he distributed among his people, who had suffered greatly from the exactions of Lal-Dev. But he in his turn was called upon to pay tribute to the Durani governor of Kashmir, Nawab Azad Khan, and Kashtwar was threatened with invasion by a large Afghan army. On reaching the town of Shahabad in Kashmir the Nawab sent a summons to the Raja to come and pay his respects. His officers advised him to go, and he presented himself before the governor in the Sher Garhi Palace at Srinagar, and after making his submission was allowed to return home. He was,

however, ordered to keep a Vakil at Srinagar, and one, Muhammad Hafiz-Ullah, was deputed as his agent.

Soon after his return a conspiracy was matured against him by Gulab-Singh, his own cousin, and Nur-ud-din, the official already mentioned. They gave him stupefying drugs and then persuaded him to accompany them to the *chaugan* on the pretence of taking an airing, and while engaged in bathing at Sirkot tank they attacked and killed him. Gulab-Singh then seized the State and appointed Nur-ud-din as his Wazir, but their rule only lasted forty days, when the people rose against them and killed them.

Inayat-Ullah-Singh's reign must have been a very short one of ten months or a year at the most.[1] A letter exists in Chamba, dated 1st Kartik, S. 65=13th October, A.D. 1789, in which his son, Tegh-Singh, owns allegiance to Chamba, and promises to pay Rs. 3,000 as annual tribute. This was probably in the first year of his reign.

Tegh-Singh, A.D. 1789.—Tegh-Singh's full name was Muhammad Tegh-Singh. He was also called Saif-Ullah Khan. He succeeded as a minor, and one, Jatoji, was appointed Wazir. Soon afterwards, Nawab Abdullah Khan, the Afghan Governor of Kashmir, rebelled against Timur Shah Durani and made himself independent; and at his request a large force was sent to his assistance from Kashtwar, under a general, named Dalipu. Timur's forces were defeated, and valuable presents were given by the Nawab on the conclusion of hostilities. Tegh-Singh also visited Kashmir on the occasion, probably about A.D. 1790-91.

The Raja had by this time appointed as Wazir one, Lakhpat Rai, of the Thakkur caste, who was fated to play an inglorious part in Kashtwar history. Along with Khuda Dost, general of the Kashmir Governor, he was sent with an army to invade Bhadrawah, which was then under the suzerainty of Chamba, but ruled by its own Raja. A force was sent from Chamba under Wazir Nathu to oppose them, but it was defeated at Basnota and Gallugarh, and Bhadrawah was conquered and burnt. Nathu surrendered, and a sum of Rs. 20,000 was exacted and the Kashtwar army then retired. On receipt of the news of victory there were great rejoicings in Kashtwar ; and on his return Lakhpat Rai was received with every honour, and a *jagir* was bestowed

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 71, c. 40.

upon him in Bhonjwah, which is still in the possession of his descendants.

There is a copper-plate title-deed of Tegh-Singh in favour of his Hindu *parohit*, who, as already mentioned, was still retained in his service. It is dated S. 78=A.D. 1802; and in the previous year, by a letter still extant, dated 12th Jeth, S. 77=A.D. 1801, the Raja had renewed his allegiance to Chamba.[1] It was perhaps in consequence of Tegh-Singh's renouncement of his allegiance to Kashmir that soon after this an Afghan army invaded the country and plundered some of the villages, after defeating the Kashtwar army.

Though there is no mention of the fact in the State annals, yet a tradition exists in one branch of the Kashtwar family that Tegh-Singh's claim to the *gaddi* was not undisputed. It will be remembered that Guman-Singh, the youngest brother of Mihr-Singh, had a son named Ajit-Singh, who ruled for a short time. His son was Fateh-Singh who again had several sons, of whom Anwar-Singh seems to have been the eldest. As the result of party intrigue, Tegh-Singh was displaced for a short time from power and Anwar-Singh put in his place. He was, however, soon removed by poison and Tegh-Singh was restored. Anwar-Singh's brothers then fled to Chamba, taking with them his infant son, to whom was assigned a *jagir* in Himgari *pargana* by Raja Jit-Singh. Of the brothers only Dalip-Singh remained in Chamba, the others going to Mirpur in Jammu where their descendants still reside. The present head of the family in Chamba is Mian Autar-Singh of Himgari.

Till 1815 Tegh-Singh's reign seems to have been uneventful. The State still continued to hold unimpaired all the territory acquired by its former rulers, from the eastern frontiers of Kashmir to the borders of Padar and Bhadrawah, and from Maru-Wardwan in the north to Ramban and Banihal in the south-west. Mr. Forster, who travelled from Jammu to Kashmir by the Banihal Pass in 1783, states that his way lay through Kashtwar territory after crossing the Chinab.[2] The suzerainty of Chamba probably continued till 1801, for a letter exists to this effect from Raja Jit-Singh of Chamba to Raja Tegh-Singh, dated 1st Jeth, S. 79=13th May, A.D. 1803.[3] In view of the unsettled conditions prevailing

[1] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 72, *c.* 50.

[2] Forster's *Travels*.

[3] *Chamba Museum Catalogue*, page 72, *c.* 50, and page 73, *c.* 53.

both on the plains and the hills at that time, we may well believe that Kashtwar, sheltered by its rugged mountains, was practically independent of any foreign power ; and, till close upon the time of its extinction, there was nothing to indicate that the end of this ancient principality was so near. It was the last of the Panjab Hill States to come under the control of Ranjit-Singh and among the first to suffer at his hands.

An incident now falls to be recorded which was fraught with baneful consequences to the State.

In A.D. 1811[1] Shah Shuja of Kabul, having been driven out of his kingdom, sought a refuge in the Panjab, and was for some time entertained as a guest by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. He brought with him the famous Kohi-i-Nur diamond which had been in the possession of his family for three generations. As is well-known, it was carried away from Delhi to Persia by Nadir Shah in 1739. After his death the diamond came into the possession of Ahmad Shah Durani, one of Nadir Shah's chief officers, and thus found its way back to Kabul and India. The Shah was at first well treated at Lahore, but Ranjit-Singh was bent on having the diamond, and when other means failed he resorted to treatment of the harshest character in order to compel its surrender. A strong guard was placed on the house, and Shah Shuja was thus subjected to personal restraint and many other forms of annoyance of a very trying character. Even deprivation of food was tried, and for two days nothing was cooked in the royal kitchen. Threats of personal violence were also conveyed to him, and at length Shah Shuja, worn out by the treatment to which he was subjected, and realizing that even his life was in danger, consented to comply with Ranjit-Singh's demand. The latter came in person to receive the jewel, and both kings being seated opposite each other, a solemn pause ensued which lasted for an hour. The Shah was then reminded of his promise, through one of his own attendants, and on a sign being given the diamond was brought in and placed on the floor, midway between the two monarchs, and, being then unrolled and identified, it was taken possession of by Ranjit-Singh. Soon afterwards, in April 1815, the Shah effected his escape at night by crawling through a drain in the city wall and swimming the Ravi, and, passing in the guise of a merchant through Sialkot and Jammu, succeeded in reaching Kashtwar. There he was royally entertained

[1] *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, page 308, *et seq.*

for iwo years. In 1815-16 Shah Shuja with the help of his host raised an army of three or four thousand men for the conquest of Kashmir, which was still under Afghan rule. Crossing the Marbal Pass he advanced into the valley as far as Shahabad, and was there defeated and compelled to retreat to Kashtwar. Meanwhile news of his whereabouts reached the ears of Ranjit-Singh and an order was sent to Tegh-Singh to deliver him up. This Tegh-Singh declined to do, and, it being now unsafe to remain longer in Kashtwar, Shah Shuja escaped up the Maru-Wardwan Valley, crossed the high range into Suru and, travelling through Zanskar, recrossed into Kulu, and in September 1816 reached Ludhiana, then the frontier station in British territory. There his descendants still reside, and the rest of his tragic story belongs to Indian history.

It is said that Ranjit-Singh entertained great resentment against Tegh-Singh for not complying with his order.[1] He was then himself making attempts on Kashmir and would not allow any one else to do so, and soon afterwards commanded Gulab-Singh of Jammu to conquer Kashtwar.

Mr. Vigne[2] states that, on receiving the Maharaja's orders, Gulab-Singh sent a false message of warning to Tegh-Singh, informing him that Ranjit-Singh was about to invade the State. Tegh-Singh made preparations for resistance and wrote to Gulab-Singh that he had done so. On this Gulab-Singh had a forged letter prepared, containing an invitation to Ranjit-Singh from the Wazir, Lakhpat Rai, and the chief men in the State, to invade Kashtwar. This he sent to Tegh-Singh, and asked him how he could talk of resistance when his own officials were unfaithful to him. It is said that Tegh-Singh had a *hakim*, who taught him to indulge in noxious drugs which made him suspicious. Believing in the genuineness of the letter he determined to assassinate the Wazir, and on his appearance in Darbar next morning he was set upon by two soldiers and severely wounded.

The Raja then to screen himself disowned the deed and had the two soldiers put to death. The Wazir, however, was not deceived, and on his recovery asked leave to go to his *jagir* in Bhonjwah for change of air, and then escaped to Bhadrawah and went to Jammu. There he entered the ser-

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[1] *Jammu and Kashmir*, by Drew, page 121.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 181-82. Vigne was the first European to visit Kashtwar. This was in 1838.

vice of Gulab-Singh and pointed out to him how easily Kashtwar could be conquered.

Tegh-Singh also wrote to Gulab-Singh, and in reply he was advised to leave his army and come to Jammu alone, under a promise of an introduction to the Maharaja, who would secure him in possession of his dominions. Tegh-Singh was completely deceived and in 1820 went to Doda, where he was met by Gulab-Singh, who had him seized and sent to Jammu, where he was detained a prisoner. Meantime, Gulab-Singh took possession of the State without any resistance. On being liberated Tegh-Singh went to Lahore to appeal to Ranjit-Singh. He appeared in Darbar during the Holi, and the Sikh Sirdars pretended to intercede for him. Ranjit-Singh promised to reinstate him, but the promise was never fulfilled, and he died in 1823, of poison administered by his own servant.

Tegh-Singh had three sons, named Jaimal-Singh, Zorawar-Singh and Dilawar-Singh. The two elder sons were with him at the time of his death, and Mr. Vigne says that Zorawar-Singh joined Shah Shuja's unsuccessful expedition against Afghanistan in 1834. He is said to have afterwards visited Kashtwar in disguise, but was recognized and imprisoned in Jammu Fort. On his release he became a Christian and was baptized in Ludhiana, after which he wandered about for many years as a *faqir*, dying childless in 1870. His elder brother, Jaimal-Singh, also died without issue, and the pension assigned to the family was then made over to Dilawar-Singh, whose descendants reside in Tilokpur, near Kotla in the Kangra District. As already mentioned, collateral branches live in Chamba and Jammu.

Wazir Lakhpat held high office under Raja Gulab-Singh, and was killed at Munshi Bagh, near Srinagar, when in 1846 Kashmir was occupied by Gulab-Singh's troops, on the transfer of the country to him by the British Government. His descendants still reside in Bhonjwah and Bhadrawah in the enjoyment of *jagirs*, and the family has provided many able servants to the Kashmir State. One other circumstance associated with Kashtwar may be noted. Soon after the expulsion of the old rulers Gulab-Singh appointed Zorawar-Singh Kahlurea, one of his ablest officers, to the charge of the State. Zorawar-Singh was an illegitimate son of the Raja of Kahlur or Bilaspur, who had entered Gulab-Singh's service. He was a man of great natural ability, a brave soldier,

and eager to advance the interests of his master, to whom he was absolutely faithful.[1] Some years after taking over the government of Kashtwar he conceived the design of conquering Ladakh or Western Tibet, then under the rule of its own Rajas who resided at Leh. Gulab-Singh approved of the project, but before entering upon it he consulted the British Government and no objection was raised. As the expedition was a private concern of Gulab-Singh's it could not advance through Kashmir, which was then in the hands of the Sikhs. A force of 10,000 men was, therefore, assembled in Kashtwar in 1834, and the advance was made by the Maru-Wardwan Valley, and across the Western Himalaya to Suru. The Tibetans made a feeble resistance, and the country was conquered. Two years later Padar in Chamba territory was also annexed by Zorawar-Singh, and in 1841 Baltistan or Little Tibet came under the sway of the Dogras. Zorawar-Singh then formed the bold design of conquering Tibet proper. He left Leh in the late autumn of 1841 with an army of 10,000 men, but the winter set in, and when in December they came into conflict with the Tibetans, the men were so benumbed with cold that they easily succumbed. Zorawar-Singh was killed, fighting bravely as was his wont, and his force was almost annihilated.

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[1] *Western Tibet*, by Francke : Chaps. XII, XIII--XIV.

NOTE.—Ahmad Shah, the last Raja of Baltistan, is said to have died in Kashtwar, and his grave is shown. Another account states that he accompanied Zorawar-Singh in 1841 and died in Tibet—*vide* Vigne's *Travels*, Volume II, pages 219-*ff*., and *History of Western Tibet*, Francke, page 164.

CHAPTER XXII.

Rajauri State.

Rajauri State was situated in the valley of the Rajauri or Minawar Tawi and its tributaries to the south of the Pir Panjal Range, dividing it from Kashmir. Its ancient name was Rajapuri, of which Rajauri is a derivation. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal ; on the west by Punch and Kotli ; on the south by Bhimbar and on the east by the Chinab.

The entire area between the Jehlam and Chinab in the outer hills, bore in former times the name of *Darvabhisara,* from the two tribes—Darva and Abhisara,—by whom it was inhabited. Sir Aurel Stein (*Rajatarangini,* I, page 180, note) has an interesting note on the subject, as follows :—[1]" The combined names of the Darvas and Abhisaras are mentioned in various ethnographical lists, furnished by the *Mahabharata, the Puranas* and *Brhatsamhita,* along with those of tribes belonging to the Punjab. The position of their country was first correctly ascertained by Wilson, *Essay,* pages 116 *sq.* Comp. also Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, Vol. II, page 147 ; *P.W. s.v.* Lassen; *Pentapot. Ind.*, page 18 ; *Vie de Saint-Martin : Mem. de l'Academie des Inscr., Sav. Etrang.*, I *série v.* pages 299 *sq.* ; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pages 321 *sq.*

From the evidence available it appears that Darvabhisara, as a geographical term, comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills, lying between the Vitasta and Chandrabhaga. The Chandrabhaga seems to mark the eastern limit of the territory, in the passage of the *Visnupur,* IV, page 223. From *Rajatarangini,* VIII, 1531, and the topographical point discussed in note, VIII, 1361, it is clear that the Hill State of *Rajapuri* (Rajauri) was included in Darvabhisara.

That the Chandrabhaga (Chinab) marked the eastern boundary of the State is more than probable, as the hill country to the east of that river was held by the tribe of *Durgara,* from which the tract still bears the name in the abbreviated form of *Dugar* (Jammu).

It is probable that the name, *Darvabhisara,* was in use from before the time of Alexander's invasion, down to the

[1] Kalhana's *Rajatarangini: a Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*; trans. by M.A. Stein, Westminster, 1900, Book I, *v.* 180 note.

twelfth century and possibly a good deal later. In the Greek authors we read of a king of this tract, called Abisares, who first opposed Alexander on the Indus and later made his submission at the Hydaspes. The name is evidently ethnic, from the name of the principal tribe over which he ruled ; for we know that from ancient times it has been the custom among the hill Chiefs to take their clan or family name from the name of the tribe or territory over which each exercised dominion. In the same manner the ruler of Taxila is called Taxiles—as an ethnic or clan name ; though his real name is also given in some of the histories. We may assume that the names *Arsakes* and *Poros* were also ethnic in character—the first being derived from Urasa—the Ouarsa or Arsa of Ptoiomy (Hazara) ; and Poros is supposed to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit *Paurava*, meaning " descendant of (the race of) Puru."[1]

The first mention of Abisares, who is called " the king of the Indian mountaineers," is in connection with a force sent to oppose Alexander, on his advance towards the Indus. After his capture of Aornos, and passage of the Indus, Abisares seems to have got alarmed and sent envoys to Taxila, accompanied by his own brother and other notable men, to tender his submission. He had been in league with Poros, the king of the district on the plains between the Hydaspes (Jehlam) and the Akesines (Chinab), and they were at war with the king of Taxila, who had joined Alexander as an ally, at Ohind, with a contingent of 700 horse and valuable supplies in money and kind for the Greek army. In the previous year the Raja's father, since deceased, had met Alexander at Nikaia (Jalalabad) and tendered his submission, which was now renewed by the son ; the object probably being to secure Alexander's help against his enemies to the south.[2]

The mission of Abisares[3] was favourably received, and Alexander entertained hopes that Poros would be equally submissive ; but the summons to him to present himself and pay tribute was met with the proud answer, that he awaited the advance of the Greek army to his frontier and was ready to give it battle.

On the defeat of Poros at the Hydaspes, Abisares again sent envoys, who stated that he was ready to surrender him-

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[1] *Cf.* Rapson, *Ancient India*, page 92.

[2] Arrian's *Anabasis*, Chinnock, pages 247 and 279.

[3] Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. (1914), pages 55 and 63.

self and his kingdom. Alexander, however, had meanwhile ascertained that he was still in league with Poros, and had intended joining forces with him in opposing the Greeks at the Hydaspes, being prevented from doing so only by the late arrival of his army. Angry at this duplicity, Alexander sent him a peremptory message, threatening to invade his territory if he did not present himself in person. On this occasion also his brother came with the envoys, bringing a present in money and forty elephants as a tribute. We are not told if Abisares complied with the order, but on Alexander's return from the Bias he was met at the Chinab, probably south of Aknur, by messengers from Abisares, along with his brother and other relations, bringing valuable gifts, including elephants, thirty in number. They declared that Abisares was unable to come owing to illness, and this was confirmed by the ambassadors from Alexander. Believing this to be true Alexander conferred on Abisares the honour of Viceroy, placing under him Arsakes the king of Urasa or Hazara, who also had presented himself at the Chinab with gifts, seemingly in company with the other envoys. It would thus appear that Abisares was lord-paramount over the whole of the outer hills, from the Chinab to the Indus ; and his capital may have been at Rajapuri, as Abhisara proper is supposed to have been the country occupied at a later time by the States of Rajauri and Bhimber.[1]

Darvabhisara is next referred to historically in the *Rajatarangini* (I, 180), at a period about the second century, in the reign of Raja Abhimanyu I of Kashmir. He, it is stated, was in the habit of spending the cold season in Darvabhisara owing to the great severity of the Kashmir winters, due, it was said, to the anger of the Nagas at their worship having been abandoned in favour of Buddhism. The tract must then have been a province of Kashmir. Probably none of the States which existed in the tract in later times had then been founded, and it may have been under the rule of Ranas and Thakurs or rulers bearing similar titles, as Urasa to the west and Durgara to the east are said to have been ; possibly under the supremacy of Kashmir.[2]

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[1] Arrian's *Anabasis*, pages 298, 315, Chinnock's trans.

[2] The tract formerly called Darvabhisara is now called Chibhan—so named from the Chibh tribe which at a later time founded the States of Bhimbar and Khari-Khariyali. Chibhal is the adjective from Chibhan.

Note.—The roads from Rajauri reach the plains at Aknur and Bhimbar.

Rajapuri was visited by Hiuen Tsiang—the Chinese pilgrim—in A.D. 633. He came down from Kashmir by way of Punch, and some days later reached Rajapuri, which was then subject to Kashmir. He states the distance from Punch to Ho-lo-she-pu-lo or Rajapura as 400 *li* or 67 miles. The circuit of the district is described as 4,000 *li* or 667 miles, which is about double the true amount.

His reference to the district is as follows (*Si-yu-ki*, trans., Volume I, pages 163-*ff*.) :—

" This kingdom is about 4,000 *li* in circuit ; the capital town is about 10 *li* round. It is naturally very strong, with many mountains, hills and river-courses, which cause the arable land to be contracted. The produce, therefore, is small. The climate and the fruits of the soil are like those of Pun-nu-tso (Punch). The people are quick and hasty ; the country has no independent ruler, but is subject to Kashmir. There are ten *sangharamas* (*i.e.*, Buddhist monasteries), with a very small number of priests. There is one temple of Devas with an enormous number of unbelievers."

" From the country of Lan-po (*i.e.*, Lamghan) till this, the men are of a coarse appearance, their disposition fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and uncultivated, with scarce any manners or refinement. They do not properly belong to India but are frontier people with barbarous habits."

Sir A. Cunningham has the following comment on the above :—" The circuit of the district is described as 4,000 *li* or 667 miles, which is about double the true amount, unless, as is not improbable, the whole of the Hill States as far as the Ravi be included within its boundaries."

" The district of Rajauri proper is nearly a square of about 40 miles each side, bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal,[1] on the west by Punch, on the south by Bhimbar, and on the east by Rihasi and Aknur. By extending its boundary on the east to the Chinab and on the south to the plains, it would include all these petty places, but even then its frontier would not be more than 240 miles, or by road about 320 miles. But if the frontier of these Hill States, subject to Kashmir, be extended to the Ravi on the east, the circuit would be about 420 miles measured on the map, or not less than 560 miles by road."[2]

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[1] The real boundary was the Ratan Panjal, south of the Pir Panjal; the valley between was in Punch.

[2] *Ancient Geography of India*, pages 129-130.

After the visit of the Chinese pilgrim we find no reference to the territory till A.D. 850 in the *Rajatarangini* (IV, 712). We there read that "Nara and other merchants, who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled Darvabhisara and the neighbouring regions, setting up (their own) thrones." From this it would appear that the tract was still under Kashmir suzerainty, and the rulers referred to may have been of the same class as the Ranas and Thakurs of the outer hills, corresponding to the Damaras of Kashmir, who were the actual rulers, at that period, though usually under a paramount power.

From a later reference (*Rajatarangini*, VII, 1282), we learn that Nara was the ancestor of the Lohara family, which, in A.D. 1003, succeeded to the throne of Kashmir. He was the founder of the Parnotsa or Punch State, of which Lohara seems to have been the original capital. It thus appears that from an early period, possibly before the beginning of the Christian era, Darvabhisara, like other hill tracts, was under the suzerainty of Kashmir.

Another reference to this suzerainty occurs in the *Rajatarangini* (V, 141) of the reign of Sankara-Varman (A.D. 883-902). The State of Lohara or Punch had been founded shortly before this by Nara, a Khasa lord, as already mentioned, and he was succeeded by his son, Naravahana. Soon after his accession, Sankara-Varman undertook a military expedition in the outer hills, and crossed the Pir Panjal Range, probably by the Tosa-Maidan Pass, to Lohara. On hearing of his approach Naravahana fled with his troops into the mountain defiles, and Sankara-Varman marched on to the plains. On his return from this expedition, Naravahana seems to have made his submission, and was treacherously slain along with those in attendance on him. Naravahana may then have been the overlord of all Darvabhisara, under Kashmir suzerainty, from which he wanted to free himself, as it is stated that Sankara-Varman suspected treachery on his part. In the reference there is no mention of a Raja of Rajapuri, and the State had probably not then been founded.

In all probability the State was founded by one of the local hill Chiefs of the Khasha tribe, in the same way as Punch. Previous to this the territory had been under Kashmir.

This may have been about A.D. 970 or 980. The first Raja of the State referred to in the *Rajatarangini* (VI, 348-352)

was *Prithvi-Pala*, about A.D. 990, in the reign of Queen Didda, widow of Kshemagupta, who on the death of her husband, son and grandsons, usurped the royal power in Kashmir.

The ruler of Rajapuri about A.D. 970 had, like many other hill Chiefs of that time, sought to assert his independence, and a force was sent against him under the Minister, Phalguna, which reduced the country to submission. On Phalguna's decease, about A.D. 1000, the ruling Chief, Prithvi-Pala, was encouraged to rebel, and a force was again sent against the country, which was attacked in a narrow mountain defile and almost destroyed. Enraged at this occurrence, Tunga, the new Kashmir Minister, suddenly penetrated into Rajapuri by another route and burnt down the capital. By this diversion Prithvi-Pala was defeated, being probably taken tin he rear, and the remains of the other army were rescued from their difficult position. The king of Rajapuri then agreed to pay tribute and the Kashmir army retired, Tunga receiving a reward for his services.

At that time Kashmir was ruled by Queen Didda,—[1]a daughter of the Raja of Lohara, whose mother was a Sahi princess of the ancient royal line, which had long ruled Kabul and the Panjab. A short time before her death she installed her nephew, Sangrama, a son of her brother, Udaya of Lohara, as *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent of Kashmir, and on her decease he succeeded to the throne.

About this time we find an interesting reference to Rajapuri in Alberuni's *Indica*. The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni were then in progress, and Alberuni came to India in his train, about A.D. 1016-7, and was present at the siege of Loharakotta, probably in A.D. 1021. After referring to the peak of Kularjak in the Pir Panjal, probably Tatakuti 15,524 feet, he says :[2] "The town Rajawari is three *farsakh* distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade, and beyond which they never pass."

From the above it is clear that as early as the beginning of the eleventh century the town of Rajapuri was called Rajawari, which is evidently an intermediate form between Rajapuri and Rajauri. We may, therefore, assume that in ordinary usage the ancient form of *Rajapuri* had begun to be dropped before this time. The further change from Raja-

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, VI, *v.* 355—361.

[2] Alberuni's *Indica*, 1910, Volume I, page 208.

wari to Rajauri may have taken place gradually. In the later Chronicles down to Mughal times we find *Rajapuri*, except once where *Rajavira* occurs.

Moorcroft has Rajaor, and Vigne Rajawar, the latter being the name in use in the vernacular history of the State. Ferishta has Rajauri and Jahangir uses Rajaur, so we may assume that the final form dates from before Akbar's time.

It is probable that Prithvi-Pala reigned till about A.D. 1025 and was succeeded by *Shahaja-Pala*, who is referred to in the *Rajatarangini* (VII, 533), and reigned till about A.D. 1050. He was followed by his son, *Sangrama-Pala*, who was still a minor; and his uncle, Madana-Pala, sought to usurp the throne. Sangrama-Pala's sister, who was probably grown up, fled to Kashmir to seek help of king Kalasa, accompanied by one of the Thakurs or local hill barons.

Accordingly, a force was sent under two commanders, named Jayananda and Bijja. After the Raja's uncle had been defeated and his army dispersed, the Kashmir commander, Jayananda, prolonged his stay in the country, thus exciting suspicion as to his intentions. Finally, he withdrew after receiving presents, leaving Bijja and the army under the pretext of ensuring security, but really to retain possession of the State, probably under Kalasa's orders. Later on, the uncle, Madana-Pala, again raised a rebellion and was defeated and sent in chains to Kashmir. Sangrama-Pala seems to have had a long reign and is mentioned (VII, 588-90), among the hill Chiefs who visited Kashmir in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, to do homage to Kalasa. At that period Kashmir had extended her sway over all the States of the outer hills, from Chamba to the Indus, and it was in acknowledgment of this suzerainty that all these Chiefs presented themselves in Srinagar. These Chiefs were: "Kirti, the lord of Babbapura (Jammu); Asata, king of Champa (Chamba); Kalasa, son of Tukka, lord of Vallapura (Ballor or Basohli); king Sangrama-Pala, lord of Rajapuri (Rajauri); Utkarsa, ruler of Lohara (Punch); Sangata, king of Urasa (Hazara); Gambhirashia, Chief of Kanda (not located); and the illustrious Uttamaraja, the ruler of Kashthavata (Kashtwar)."

On Kalasa's death[1] in A.D. 1089, he was succeeded by his son, Harsha, and soon afterwards Sangrama-Pala of Rajapur became disaffected. The power of Kashmir was then on the wane, owing to internal dissensions and the Muhammadan in-

[1] *Rajatarangini*, VII, *v*. 967-92.

vasions of the Panjab, and the hill Rajas all became restive under foreign control, and sought to make themselves independent. A force was sent against Sangrama-Pala under Sunna, the Prefect of Police, and a second force under Kandarpa, the Lord of the Gate. Sunna delayed for one and-a-half months near Lohara, and Harsha, becoming impatient, addressed angry reproaches to Kandarpa, who was engaged in bringing the discontented soldiers, garrisoning Lohara castle, under control. Stung by these reproaches Kandarpa set out in haste from Lohara, though he had no supplies, taking a vow to fast till he had conquered Rajapuri. The distance from Lohara to Rajapuri is ordinarily four marches, but Kandarpa, travelling by mountain paths, took six days, fasting all the time. There was severe fighting, in which two hundred of the Kashmir army and four hundred of the enemy, called Khasha, were slain. In the evening Sunna with his forces arrived, after all the fighting was over, and Kalhana has some severe strictures on the timidity of the Prefect of Police, who he hints kept out of the way until all danger was past. On the rout of his army Sangrama-Pala gave in his submission, tendered homage and paid up the tribute dues, and the Kashmir commander took his departure.

Towards the end of Harsha's reign (*Rajatarangini*, VII, 1150-59), Sangrama-Pala again aroused suspicion and Harsha led an expedition against him in person. Advancing into the territory he laid siege to the fort of Prithvigiri which was probably near Rajapuri. After a month the garrison was in straits from want of supplies, and Sangrama-Pala then offered tribute and supplies which were refused. The Prefect of Police (Sunna) was then bribed to persuade Harsha to retreat, and this ruse failing, his soldiers were incited to demand increased marching allowance. This demand could not be met, as the treasury was not with the army. Finally a false alarm was spread by the Prefect, that the Turushkas or Muhammadans were advancing into the hills. Thereupon Harsha, who had but little firmness and courage, raised his camp, and marched off so hurriedly that his treasure and stores were all left on the road.

Political affairs in Kashmir at this period were in a very unstable condition. With the extinction of the line of Utpala, the Lohara dynasty came to the throne. Queen Didda, who

may be regarded as the first of this line, was the widow of the last Raja of the older line, and a princess of the Lohara family. A woman of great energy and capacity she virtually ruled the kingdom for nearly half a century. Her weak husband was completely in her hands, and on his death in A.D. 958, she assumed the office of guardian to her son, a minor, and later to his three sons, who were got out of the way. In A.D. 980 she ascended the throne in her own name, and ruled for twenty-three years. A short time before her death she chose one of her nephews, named Sangramaraja, a son of her elder brother, Udayaraja, the ruler of Lohara, as *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent to the throne. He ruled from A.D. 1003 to 1028, during one of the most momentous periods of Indian history, covering the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni. This period saw the overthrow and complete extinction of the powerful Sahi dynasty, which had ruled Kabul and the Panjab for centuries.

On Sangramaraja's death, Anantadeva, his son, a weak but well-meaning ruler, succeeded, and had a long reign of more than fifty years, dying in A.D. 1081. In A.D. 1063, on the advice of his queen, he was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his son, Kalasa; but very soon after, he had reason to regret the step he had taken, and resumed full power. During the remainder of his life there was strong friction between son and father, sometimes verging on rebellion, and in the end, Ananta, in A.D. 1081, in a fit of depression, committed suicide, his queen becoming *sati*. During his reign the supremacy of Kashmir was extended over most of the States of the outer hills. Kalasa succeeded and ruled till A.D. 1089. His father and mother's tragic death seems to have made a deep impression on him, and led to a change in his character and conduct. He ruled with energy and extended the supremacy of Kashmir over a great part of the outer hills. This is confirmed, as already stated, by the fact that in the winter of A.D. 1087-88 no fewer than eight hill Chiefs presented themselves in Srinagar to do homage to their lord-paramount,—embracing the whole country from Chamba on the Ravi to Urasha on the Indus.

Kalasa was succeeded by his son, Harsha, whose reign was marked by acts of tyranny and oppression, the confiscation of property and profligate expenditure, which alienated the minds of the people from him and encouraged the two Lohara princes, Uchchala and Sussala, near relatives of his own, to aspire to the throne. They were descended from

Queen Didda's younger brother—Kantiraja of Lohara,—just as Harsha was from the elder brother, Udayaraja.

Harsha's relentless persecution and massacre of the Damaras—[1] the nobility of Kashmir—completed the ruin of his dynasty. Suspicion was aroused against Uchchala and Sussala that they aspired to the throne, and they fled,—Uchchala to Rajapuri and Sussala to a State in the outer hills, called Kalinjara,[2] which has not been exactly located. Harsha then sent a message to Sangrama-Pala of Rajapuri asking him to kill Uchchala and offered money, but this was refused, and for a time Uchchala was well treated. Meanwhile messengers came from the Damaras, whom Harsha's severity had driven into rebellion, inviting Uchchala to return to Kashmir. Sangrama-Pala also encouraged him to do so, till one of his own officers,—the chief Thakkura of that territory, who was in Harsha's pay—gained his ear privately and turned him against Uchchala. It was then arranged that the latter was to be seized next morning by the Thakkura, while on a visit. Uchchala, however, discovered the plot and did not go. The Thakkura then attacked him, and while fighting was going on, Sangrama-Pala appeared on the scene and intervened, asking Uchchala to go to his own audience hall. This he did, shaking off his own attendants who wished to keep him back; and, burning with anger at the perfidy practised on him, he confronted the Raja and reproached him.

Kalhana's description of the scene has such a vivid and dramatic setting that one can easily picture the young prince standing before the assembly and uttering the following words, containing the pedigree of his family, in accents of fierce indignation. (*Rajatarangini*, VII, 1282—1287) :—

" Long ago there lived as king of Darvabhisara, *Nara*, a descendant of *Bharadwaja*, his son was *Naravahana*, who begot *Phulla*. The latter begot Salavahana ; from him sprung *Chanda*, his son was *Chanduraja*, who also had two sons, called *Gopala* and *Simharaja* : Simharaja, who had many sons, gave his daughter, Didda, to King *Ksemagupta* in marriage. She, being left without a husband or male children, placed *Samgramaraja*, the son of her brother, *Udayaraja*, on the throne. Another brother of her's, *Kantiraja*, begot *Jassaraja* ; *Samgramaraja* was the father of *Ananta* and *Jas-*

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[1] *Rajatarangini.*, VII, *v.* 1248—1289.

[2] This place is referred to by Ferishta, Volume I, pages 89—99,—*vide Rajatarangini*, VII, *v.* 1254. It was probably in the lower Tohi Valley.

saraja of *Tanvanga* and *Gunga*. From *Ananta* was born king *Kalasa*, and from *Gunga* was born *Malla*. From Kalasa were born Harsadeva and the rest, and thus we from Malla. Then when this is the pedigree, how can foolish persons ask, 'Is this one of [the princes of Kashmir '?]."

Before leaving Rajapuri Uchchala[1] was again attacked and lost some of his men. He then marched into Kashmir *via* Lohara and the Tosi-Maidan Pass; while his brother, Sussala, entered the valley from another direction; and Harsha and his son, Bhoja, were killed and Uchchala became king. Harsha's grandson, Bhikshachara, then a child, was smuggled out of Kashmir by the princess, Asamati, and taken to Malawa, and we shall hear of him again in connection with Rajapuri.

Sangrama-Pala died about A.D. 1104-05 and was succeeded by his second son, *Soma-Pala*, after displacing his elder brother, Pratapa-Pala, and throwing him into prison. Uchchala was much displeased at this, but does not seem to have made any effort to restore the rightful heir, and for some years there is no reference to Rajapuri in the *Rajatarangini*.

In A.D. 1112, Uchchala was killed and Sussala, his brother, and the leader of the revolt, succeeded to the throne. Soon afterwards Bhikshachara, grandson of Harsha, returned from Malawa, and meeting some hill Chiefs at Kurukshetra, he was welcomed by them and encouraged in his design to recover the throne of Kashmir. After an unsuccessful attempt by one of his adherents in the Chinab Valley, he retired to Chamba where he resided for four years. He was then invited by a Thakkura on the Chandrabhaga, and stayed there for some time, awaiting the development of events. Meanwhile[2] fresh trouble had arisen in Rajapuri in consequence of Soma-Pala having put his elder brother to death. Naga-Pala, a younger brother of Soma-Pala, then fled to Kashmir to crave help from Sussala. Soma-Pala made friendly overtures to gain the latter's favour, but these were rejected, and Sussala determined on invading the country. When Soma-Pala saw that his overtures were fruitless he sent and called Bhikshachara from Vallapura (Balor). This, however, instead of frightening Sussala, as seems to have been expected, only increased his anger, and he set out with an army to attack Rajapuri. Soma-Pala being unable

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, *v.* 1297, *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, *v.* 619, *et seq.*

to make a stand fled, and Sussala then installed Naga-Pala as Raja and remained seven months.

The people of Rajapuri, however, remained faithful to Soma-Pala and refused to accept the new ruler, and on Sussala's retirement, Naga-Pala accompanied him to Kashmir, having lost the throne. This took place in A.D. 1119. (*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 634-5.)

Soon afterwards another political crisis took place in Kashmir. Like Harsha, whom Kalhana calls " that Turushka " on account of his spoliation of temples, Sussala also began to stir up disaffection against himself by oppression of his people. Finding a favourable opportunity, for which he had been waiting, Bhikshachara, in A.D. 1120, supported by some hill Chiefs, advanced into Kashmir by the route of Visalata and the Banihal Pass, and after much fighting regained his ancestral throne, which he retained for six months only.[1] We are not told the names of the hill Chiefs in alliance with him, but most probably Soma-Pala of Rajapuri was one of them. Bhikshachara soon gave himself up to sensual pleasures and fell into the hands of favourites who mismanaged the State. The support of those who had welcomed him was alienated and they began to intrigue for Sussala's return. On his defeat Sussala had retired to Lohara and Bhikshachara sent an army against him by way of Rajapuri, to which Soma-Pala furnished a contingent. Before this time the practice had become common among Hindu rulers of calling in to their aid, in their mutual quarrels, Turushka or Muhammdan mercenaries, from the Panjab. Accordingly we read that on this occasion such a band of mercenaries was present in Bhikshachara's army, called in probably by Soma-Pala. The leader of the band is called Sallara Vismaya by Kalhana, and the first name we may understand as the Persian title " Salar," meaning commander-in-chief, who is again mentioned later.

The attack on Lohara,[2] as Sir A. Stein points out, was made from the south, *via* Rajapuri, partly because Soma-Pala was an old ally of Bhikshachara and partly because the condition of the Tosa-Maidan, and other high passes over the Pir Panjal in that direction, would make a direct attack from the north impossible in winter.

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, *v.* 684.

[2] *Ibid.*, *v.* 884-887 and 916-*ff.*

The poet has some jocular remarks about the composition of the force. The Turushkas, we are told, came very boastfully, each of them with a rope in his hand to bind Sussala, and adds, "who indeed would not have thought this coalition of Kashmir, Khasa and Mlechcha forces capable of uprooting everything." The whole force was under the command of Bimba, the chief minister of Bhikshachara. It advanced from Rajapuri to Parnotsa (Punch), where Sussala with his army was awaiting the attack, assisted by his ally the Chief of Kalinjara. It was the month of Baisakh (April-May, A.D. 1121), and the battle was fought on the bank of the Vitola (Bitarh), close to the town of Punch. Sussala was completely victorious, and the Kashmirians shamelessly went over to him when Soma-Pala with the Khasas and the mercenaries had retreated. He then crossed the passes into Kashmir and was joined by many of his old adherents, and Bhikshachara, being again defeated, retreated to Pushiana on the south side of the Pir Panjal, and within the Rajapuri State.

In the autumn of A.D. 1121, Bhikshachara again entered Kashmir from Pushiana, assisted doubtless by his ally, Soma-Pala, but after much fighting he failed to secure a footing, and retired once more to Pushiana, at the southern foot of the Pir Panjal Pass. From there he continued to make inroads into Kashmir, with varying fortune, for several years. (*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 968 *sq.*)

In A.D. 1128, Sussala was murdered and his head sent to Bhikshachara, who forwarded it to Soma-Pala. There was much discussion as to what should be done with it, but in the end Naga-Pala, who had become reconciled to Soma-Pala, from feelings of gratitude to his benefactor, pleaded that the head should not be dishonoured, and it was burnt on black aloe and sandal-wood. (*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 1457 *sq.*).

Jayasimha succeeded his father and continued the struggle for the throne with Bhikshachara, who still had the active support of Soma-Pala of Rajapuri. His support, however, does not seem to have been wholly disinterested, as hopes were privately held out to him, by some of the Damaras or local barons, of being himself recognised as ruler of Kashmir. Ultimately Bhikshachara, after sustaining several severe reverses, was compelled to retire from Kashmir, and was then abandoned by his friends, including Soma-Pala. On his being refused a refuge in Rajapuri, he went to his

father-in-law's State of Vartula, to the south of the Banihal Pass, and in A.D. 1030 the fort in which he was living was surrounded by those sent to capture him, and he died, fighting to the last. (*Rajataringini*, VIII, 1702 *sq.*)

Meanwhile Soma-Pala had concluded a treaty with Jayasimha and a double marriage alliance took place between the two families, Soma-Pala receiving Jayasimha's daughter and giving his own sister's daughter in return.

But although Soma-Pala had outwardly made peace with the king of Kashmir, he did not cease plotting against him. He was invited to Lohara by Lothana, a near relative of Jayasimha's, who was in revolt, and offered Soma-Pala a rich reward for his help. Soma-Pala assented to the arrangement, saying to himself: "If but Lothana gives great riches, what regard need I pay to the relationship (with Jayasimha). Else I shall cunningly tell the others that I am on their side." (*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 1851-2-3.) Kalhana commenting upon this transaction remarks: "That disreputable (prince) in the greediness of his mind was, notwithstanding the relationship into which he had entered, planning treason against the king, who was sinking under great calamities."

Soma-Pala was evidently trying to play off the one against the other to his own advantage, but he was doomed to disappointment; for although he gained by joining Lothana, his son, Bhu-Pala, soon afterwards rebelled and drove him out of the State. In his extremity he sought the protection of Jayasimha and after he had given the two sons of Naga-Pala, his brother, as hostages, the king promised him help and sent an army which restored him to power. But even then he was not grateful, and when a rebellion was being fomented against Jayasimha he gave no help, while his son, on the other hand, had the leader of the rebellion plundered by the hillmen on his way from the plains.

The last mention of Soma-Pala in the *Rajatarangini* is in connection with the marriage of his son, Bhu-Pala, to Menila, the eldest daughter of the king of Kashmir, about A.D. 1145. Soma-Pala then made over the State to his son and may have died soon after, having reigned for more than forty years. Kalhana has little that is good to say of Soma-Pala. He accuses him of greed almost amounting to avarice, unfaithfulness in the fulfilment of his engagements, and ingratitude for kindness, but he passes equally severe condemnation on the whole of the inhabitants of Rajapuri, whose deceitfulness

seems almost to have been proverbial (*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 1531). Only the Darads or people of Dardistan, north of the Zojila, surpassed them, he states, in that bad quality.

Jayasimha of Kashmir died in A.D. 1154, and was followed by a succession of weak kings, and from this period we may date the decline of Kashmir ascendancy over the Hill States, which had existed off and on for many centuries. The hill Chiefs all assumed independence, and perhaps this may explain the fact that references to them are few in the *Rajataranginis* of Jonaraja and subsequent writers.

Bhu-Pala of Rajapuri succeeded between A.D. 1145 and 1149, but of the events of his time we know almost nothing. He probably kept on good terms with Kashmir, and we read of no more wars between the two States. Rajapuri is many times mentioned casually in the Chronicle of Jonaraja and later chronicles, but no details are given. The last reference is in the reign of Ghazi Shah, A.D. 1560.

The first mention of the State by Jonaraja is in the reign of Sangramadeva of Kashmir (A.D. 1236-52). On the outbreak of a rebellion, led by some of the Damaras or hill barons and others, the king lost heart and fled "to the peaceful king of Rajapuri." He seems to have been pursued, and a battle was fought near the town of Rajapuri in which the rebels were defeated, and thus Sangramadeva regained his kingdom, doubtless with the help of his ally.

In A.D. 1339, the Hindu line of Rajas in Kashmir came to an end, and an adventurer, named Shah Mir, one of the former Raja's ministers, seized the throne. After him succeeded a line of Muhammadan kings. One of these was 'Ali-Shah (A.D. 1413-20), whose younger brother was Shadi-Khan, better known as Zain-ul-'Abdin. A short time after his accession 'Ali-Shah formed the resolution of going on pilgrimage and appointed his younger brother, Shadi-Khan, to the management of the State. On his arrival at Jammu, the Raja of which place was his father-in-law, he was dissuaded from carrying out his purpose, and advised to return to Kashmir and resume his position as ruler. To this, however, his two younger brothers objected, and the Rajas of Jammu and Rajapuri gathered an army to reinstate him. Shadi-Khan was compelled to flee from Kashmir and seek refuge with a Chief named Jasrat Khokhar. The Chronicle of Srivara tells us that " 'Ali-Shah was angry with Jasrat Khokhar for giving shelter to his brother and marched against

him." It appears that on this occasion the Raja of Rajapuri sided with Shadi-Khan; for on his arrival in that territory 'Ali-Shah laid it waste, though Jonaraja says he should have taken it under his protection. He was, however, defeated, and fled into Kashmir and disappeared. Shadi-Khan was then installed in his stead as Zain-ul-'Abidin and reigned for fifty-two years. He was one of the most famous of the Muhammadan rulers of Kashmir, and it was towards the middle of his reign that an alliance took place with Rajapuri, which ultimately resulted in the accession of a Muhammadan dynasty. It is probable that some time before this Muhammadan influence had spread all through the outer hills and many of the people had embraced that faith.

Rajapuri seems to have been still tributary to Kashmir, and its Rajas received the symbols of royalty from the ruler of that country. Before Zain-ul-'Abidin, therefore, we are told, appeared *Jayasimha* and was installed as Raja and received charge of "the beautiful kingdom of Rajapuri." Probably *Sundra-Sena*, the next Raja mentioned, and one of the last of his line, was Jayasimha's grandson, and we may fix his accession at about A.D. 1450. The practice had then begun of tributary Hindu Chiefs sending a daughter to the harem of the lord-paramount, and it is related that Sundra-Sena sent his elder daughter, Rajya Devi, to Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin. On her arrival in Kashmir the king was engaged in sport on the Wollar Lake, and seeing the lady's party coming he asked one of his attendants the question: "What mother's *doli* is that." On hearing that it was the Rajauri princess sent to him, he said: "As I have already called her 'mother,' how can I receive her as a wife." She was, therefore, sent to the harem, where she afterwards became a Muhammadan, and the Rajwir or Rajauri Kadal, a bridge over the Mar Canal in Srinagar, was built by her.

Sundra-Sena then sent his second daughter also to the king, and she too became a Muhammadan. Her name was Sundera-Devi, but the people called her Sunderma-ji. She bore a son called Adham-Khan, generally known as the "Wali," being the eldest son, and his elder son was named Fath-Khan. As he was not on good terms with his father and his brother, Haidar-Khan, the king appointed him governor of the outer hills, including Punch and Rajauri. On his father's death he claimed the throne, but was defeated and retired to the plains where he had a younger son, named Sikandar-Khan Sani, whose son was named Sher Afkun.

During the reign of his brother, Haidar-Shah, who succeeded his father in Kashmir, Adham Khan, came to Jammu where he induced the Raja to support his claim to Kashmir, but he was shortly afterwards (A. D. 1472) killed in a skirmish with a party of Mughals, leaving his elder son, Fath-Khan, to prosecute his claim. Fath-Khan at a later date became king of Kashmir, and by his aid, Nur-Shah, or Nil-Sih, son of Sher Afkun and grandson of Sikandar-Khan Sani, obtained possession of Rajauri, by conquering the country and marrying the Raja's daughter. The Raja referred to must have been later than Sundra-Sena, possibly his son or grandson, and his date is about A.D. 1500. From this time onwards Rajauri was ruled by a succession of Muhammadan Chiefs in undisturbed possession, each bearing a Hindu name in addition to his own proper name.

In the foregoing narrative we have followed the account given by Cunningham, but have not been able to ascertain his authority. It differs considerably from that in the vernacular history. There we are told that the family was descended from Jira-Pal, younger brother of Jhet-Pal, the founder of Nurpur State, and was ruling in Kalanaur about A.D. 1193-96 when Muhammad Ghori invaded the Panjab. After opposing him and being defeated, the Raja of the time, named Sahib-Sinh, was won over and embraced Islam, along with his son, Nil-Sinh; receiving the names, respectively, of Sher Afkun-Khan and Nur-ud-Din-Khan. Soon afterwards they moved into the outer hills and conquered Rajauri from the Pala dynasty previously in possession, and became rulers of the State.

There are, however, several points in this record which are not in agreement with historical facts. We know from the later *Rajataranginis* that there were Hindu Rajas of Rajauri down to a much later date than A.D. 1193, and Jahangir in his Memoirs states that the family became Muhammadan in the time of Firoz-Shah Tughlak (A.D. 1356-88). It is also noteworthy that the names of the Rajas in the vernacular narrative, *viz.*, Sher Afkun and Nur-Shah or Nil-Sinh, are the same as those given by Cunningham, who are recorded to have ruled about A.D. 1475-1500, and in both accounts Nur-Shah or Nil-Sinh is said to have been the first Muhammadan Raja of Rajauri.[1] It is also interesting, and confirmatory of Cunningham's version, that the Rajvir or Razvir Kadal

[1] *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume XIV, page 106-*ff*.

(bridge), said to have been built by a Rajauri princess, is still in existence on the Mar Canal in Srinagar.

There is one point which somewhat weakens the credibility of Cunningham's version, making the Muhammadan dynasty date from about A.D. 1500. There were thirteen Rajas in succession from Nur-Shah or Nil-Sinh to Taj-ud-din-Khan, who died in A.D. 1646, and was a contemporary of Shah-jahan. This gives an average reign of only eleven years, which is much below the average of most of the other Hill States. There were eight Rajas after Taj-ud-din with an average of twenty-five years, and the average over the whole period from A.D. 1500 to 1846, when the State was overturned, is about seventeen years. It, therefore, seems probable that the change of dynasty took place in the time of Firoz-Shah, as stated by Jahangir. Here we must leave the question for the present, but further research may throw more light upon it.

We are fortunate in having a very full record of the period covered by the Muhammadan dynasty, compiled by a member of the Rajauri royal family, and from it most of the subsequent information in this chapter is taken. We desire to acknowledge our great indebtedness to Raja The Honourable Ikram-Ullah-Khan of Wazirabad for so courteously placing his family records at our disposal. As already stated, the first member of the new dynasty to acquire the ruling power in the State was *Nur-Shah* or Nil-Sinh or Sih,[1] whose full name was *Nur-ud-din-Khan*. He probably had a short reign and indeed the same seems to have been the case with a good many of his successors. There are no details regarding the events of his reign, and on his death he was succeeded by his son, *Baha-ud-din-Khan*, also called Bhag-Sinh or Sih.

Bhag-Sih is said to have extended the boundaries of the State, probably towards the south, and to have erected some fine buildings in the capital. He was followed by his son, Anwar-Khan, called Awardan-Sinh.

Anwar-Khan spent most of his time in sport of every kind, of which he was very fond. In order to leave himself free for his favourite amusement, he appointed one brother to the command of the army and the other to the administration of the State. Towards the end of his reign, realising

[1] According to Ferishta, Sikandar Khan was the son of Fath Khan, but there seems to have been another of the same name called Sikandar Khan Sani, the younger son of Adham-Khan, whose grandson was Nur-Shah or Nil-Sinh.

that his brothers might not be willing to surrender the power, which they had so long exercised, and that the army and the State officials might not be ready to accept his son on his own demise, he summoned all of them to his presence. He then appointed *Haibat-Khan* or Haibat-Sinh, his son, as his successor by applying the *tika* to his forehead in saffron, and ordered all present to present their *nazars* (tribute), as is customary on such occasions. Thereafter he placed the young Raja's hand in the hands of his brothers, and took a promise from them that they would be loyal and faithful. This promise was faithfully kept during the Raja's minority, and on coming of age he took over the administration. Nothing eventful seems to have happened in his reign. Sirdar-Khan or Ratan-Sinh succeeded, and of him it is recorded that he was exceedingly inert and indifferent to State affairs. The rulers of the neighbouring States took advantage of this and invaded the territory, much of which was lost. He had only one son, *Shahsawar-Khan,* or Sansar-Sinh who succeeded him. This Chief was more manly and energetic than his father, and under him most of the lost territory was recovered. He was fond of sport and delighted in the pursuit of big game.

Daulat-Khan or Daulat-Sinh was also warlike and most of his reign was spent in making raids on neighbouring States, and in repelling attacks upon his own. He lived mostly in the field, and in the simplest manner like one of his own soldiers, and was fond of marching on foot. He recovered all the remaining territory that had been lost.

Shahzaman-Khan or Chak-Sinh, the next Raja, had three sons, and being fond of the two younger he settled them in separate *jagirs,* and granted them the title of Rai, which their descendants still hold.

In this reign the Rajauri Chief was called upon to provide a contingent to aid Kashmir in the invasion of Baltistan or Little Tibet, and a force was sent under the heir-apparent, Shahab-ud-din. After subduing the country the Commander of the Kashmir army, named Rai Makari, rebelled, and an army had to be sent from Kashmir to coerce him, in which the Rajauri force was also present. This invasion is recorded in Ferishta as having taken place in the reign of Sikander But-shikan of Kashmir (A.D. 1396-1416).

Shahab-ud-din who followed his father had an uneventful reign, and added to the State revenues by breaking up new

land and bringing it under cultivation. He had three sons of whom Bahram-Khan was the eldest and heir-apparent. The others were settled in *jagirs*.

Bahram-Khan or Bahram-Sinh, on succeeding, spent most of his time in hunting, to the neglect of State affairs which fell into disorder. He also wasted much money on the purchase of hunting dogs and in the enjoyment of his favourite pastime, and those officers were held in highest regard who ministered to his love of sport. He had two sons of whom the elder, Burhan-ud-din, succeeded on his decease.

Burhan-ud-din or Bairam-Sinh was very unlike his father, for he disliked exertion of every kind and lived a listless life. He had no sons till an advanced time of life, when two were born. As his sons were still young when he felt his end approaching, he called together his officials, and in their presence appointed his elder son, Ali-Khan, as his successor, and conferred on him the symbols of royalty.

Ali-Khan was only ten years of age when his father died, and the administration was in the hands of his officials. As he grew older the Raja developed a religious and contemplative disposition, and the habit grew upon him till worldly affairs became distasteful to him. At last in his twentieth year he abdicated in favour of his brother, Bahadur-Khan, and became a *faqir*.

Bahadur-Khan or Bahadur-Sinh, though young at the time of his accession, showed much capacity and also a fine spirit in all his relationships with his brother, to whom he referred in all important State affairs, and deferred to his advice. He had four sons of whom the eldest was Mast or Sarmast-Khan.

Sarmast-Khan (A.D. 1580) succeeded, and, according to the vernacular history, his rule was contemporary with that of Akbar. Till A.D. 1586 Kashmir had remained independent under its own rulers, but in that year Akbar sent an army to conquer the valley. In this it was unsuccessful, and had to retreat. In the following year another force was despatched, under Muhammad Qasim Khan. Before advancing into the hills he sent a letter to the Raja of Rajauri, asking his assistance and promising that he would be suitably rewarded. Mast-Khan fell in with this proposal, and went to meet the Mughal Commander, by whom he was well received.

The advance was then made through Rajauri and by way of the Pir Panjal Pass, and supplies and transport were provided by the Raja, who himself accompanied the army with his own contingent. The road being blocked by the Kashmir forces near a place called Darhal, the Raja pointed out another way by the Nandan-Sir, which was little used, and on which the enemy had not posted a guard. On hearing of the advance of the Mughals by this route the Kashmir forces retired from their first position and left the road open. The Mughals thus crossed by the two passes and reunited on the northern slopes and advanced to Shupeyon, where they were opposed for three days, and severe fighting took place. But a movement on their flank compelled the Kashmir army to fall back and a victory was gained.

The Raja of Rajauri was then rewarded with a *khillat* and a *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 value in Kashmir, which his successors continued to hold in whole or in part till the extinction of the State.

In A.D. 1589, Akbar in person visited Kashmir, and the Raja met him on the border with suitable presents, and was favourably received. Observing that the ruler, though a Muhammadan, bore the title of Raja, the Emperor remarked that it should be exchanged for Nawab. The Raja replied that the title of Nawab was unknown in the hills, and begged to be allowed to retain the old title. This was granted, but an order was given that all members of the ruling family under the Raja should be addressed as Mirza, and this custom is still in force in the Rajauri family.

Akbar is said to have visited Kashmir three times, and always by way of Rajauri, and a fort was built at Naushahra for a garrison to guard the road. The State at that period must have been very extensive, ranging from the Pir Panjal on the north to the borders of Bhimbar on the south, with the Chinab to the east and Punch to the west.

Taj-ud-din Khan or Chatar-Sinh (A.D. 1600) was the next in succession and ruled in the time of Jahangir, who visited Rajauri many times in going to and returning from Kashmir. In his Memoirs we find one very interesting reference to the State, but unfortunately the name of the ruling Raja is not mentioned. It is as follows :[1]—" On Friday, the 8th (A.D. 1620) Rajaur was the camping-ground.

[1] Elliot's *History*, Volume VI, page 376, also *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or Memoirs of Jahangir, trans. by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge, London, 1914. Volume II, pages 180-*f*.

The people of this country were in old times Hindus and the landholders are called Rajas. Sultan Firoz made them Muhammadans, but they are still called Rajas. They still have the marks of the times of ignorance. One of these is, that just as some Hindu women burn themselves along with their husbands, so these women are put into the grave along with their (dead) husbands. I heard that recently they put alive into the grave a girl of ten or twelve along with her (dead) husband, who was of the same age. Also when a daughter is born to a man without means they put her to death by strangulation. They ally themselves with Hindus, and both give and take girls. Taking them is good, but giving them, God forbid. I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them should be capitally punished. There is a river at Rajaur. Its water during the rainy season becomes much poisoned. Many of the people there get a swelling under the throat, and are yellow and weak. The rice of Rajaur is much better than the rice of Kashmir. There are self-grown and sweet-scented violets in this skirt of the hills."

Jahangir was evidently not much impressed with the people of Rajauri, and regarded them as barbarous in their habits. To the Raja was entrusted the care of the main road from the plains, and he was ordered to build "Chaukis" and post guards all along the route to Kashmir within the State. A fort was, therefore, built at Naushahra and placed in charge of his grandson, Inayat-Ullah-Khan.

Soon afterwards the Raja was called upon to furnish a contingent for an expedition in Baltistan which was placed under the command of Inayat-Ullah-Khan.

In A.D. 1644 Shahjahan marched into Kashmir by Rajauri and with him was his son, Aurangzeb. A halt was made in order that the Raja's daughter, Rajbai, might be married to the young prince, and her son was Mu'azam Shah, also called Bahadur Shah, who succeeded Aurangzeb on the throne of Delhi. Raja Taj-ud-din died in A.D. 1646, and was followed by his son, *Hayat-Ullah-Khan* who reigned for only two years.

Inayat-Ullah-Khan, A.D. 1648.—On succeeding to the *gaddi* he appointed his son, Hidayat-Ullah-Khan, as officer in command of Naushahra, with the care of the road into Kashmir, and applied himself to the organization of the State affairs. He arranged his army in two sections: first, a stand-

ing army receiving monthly allowances and always on duty, and second, the reserves,—men residing in their own homes, but liable to be called up when necessary.

Wars were in those times of frequent occurrence between neighbouring States, and a quarrel soon afterwards led to war with Jammu, owing to the latter State claiming the district of Minawar, then forming a part of Rajauri. In the first encounter the Rajauri army was defeated, but a larger force was then sent, which overcame all resistance and captured the town of Jammu. On retiring, some bricks were taken from the old palace or Mandi, and built into the Diwankhana in Rajauri, and there they remained till 1845, when they were restored to their original place in Jammu by Raja Gulab-Singh, on his conquest of Rajauri.

On the outbreak of civil war in A.D. 1657 between the sons of Shahjahan, and the defeat of Dara Shikoh and his flight to Lahore, letters were sent by him to the hill Chiefs, calling upon them to join his army. Inayat-Ullah-Khan, being so closely related to Aurangzeb, delayed taking any action, and finally joined Aurangzeb when he entered the Panjab, and remained with him till the end of the war. He was then dismissed with presents. On his return he took with him skilled workmen from the plains and erected some fine buildings in Rajauri, and also laid out a garden on the other side of the Tohi or Tawi, called Shalimar. He also erected the forts of Manawar and Inderkot. The Emperor is said to have conferred on the Raja, in *jagir*, the districts of Punch, Samlah, Manawar, Khari-Kharyali, and Bhimbar. He also confirmed the *sanad* granted by Akbar, conferring a *jagir* in Kashmir on the family. As these territories were then ruled by their own Rajas, the grants were probably only the paramountcy or superiority over these States.

Hidayat-Ullah-Khan (A.D. 1660) was indolent and indifferent about State affairs, and left the administration in the hands of his brother, Rafi-Ullah-Khan, who managed everything in such a way that no loss was sustained.

Azmat-Ullah-Khan (A.D. 1683) was only three years old when his father died, and the administration remained in the hands of his uncle, Rafi-Ullah Khan, under the regency of the *rani* or queen-mother. In Inayat-Ullah-Khan's reign one Ajab-Singh had been Wazir, and still held office nominally, though exercising no authority. He was annoyed and angry that power had passed into the hands of Rafi-Ullah-Khan

the Commander-in-Chief, and wished to regain it for himself. He, therefore, sought to instil suspicion into the mind of the queen-mother against Rafi-Ullah-Khan in his own interests, and she restored him to full power. The uncle being enraged began to plot against the Raja, with the idea of getting him out of the way and seizing the State. Through his wife this came to the ears of the queen-mother, and she at once arranged to send the Raja out of the State to Delhi, in charge of the Wazir, and he was taken to the Rajauri princess married to Aurangzeb. By her, suitable arrangements were made for him. On learning of the Raja's flight, Rafi-Ullah-Khan assumed full power, and became virtual ruler of the State. He made his nephew, Lutf-Ullah-Khan, Wazir, and raised a force of 500 men well-mounted, and dressed in a special uniform, and made raids in the neighbouring States, not only in the hills but even as far as the plains.

When Azmat-Ullah-Khan attained to years of discretion he asked permission from the Emperor to be allowed to return to his State. A message was then sent to Mirza Rafi-Ullah-Khan to ascertain his intention in the event of the Raja's return, and he replied that everything would be made over to him. The Raja was then dismissed by the Emperor, accompanied by a small force to escort him to Rajauri, and on his arrival he was welcomed by the officials and people. Rafi-Ullah-Khan had previously retired to his estate.

Aurangzeb died soon afterwards (A.D. 1707) and civil war broke out between his sons, Mua'zam Shah and Azam Shah. Azmat-Ullah-Khan took the side of the former, and joined him with his contingent. After Azam Shah's defeat and death he asked permission to return home, which was granted.

Rajauri at that time must have been a powerful and extensive principality, as there exist in the possession of the ruling family *sanads* from the Emperors granting them *jagirs* in Punch, Bhimbar, Khari-Kharyali and Kashmir.

On the decline of the Mughal Empire and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durani in 1752, the State, like all the others in the Panjab hills, passed under Afghan control, and there seems to have been much good feeling between the Rajas and their new suzerains. In A.D. 1752 an Afghan force was sent to take possession of Kashmir, where the Mughal governor refused to submit. The Raja of Rajauri received a letter asking him to send a contingent,

which he did under the command of his son, Rahmat-Ullah-Khan. On the completion of this campaign the young prince was taken seriously ill and died. This loss was a severe trial to the Raja now in his eighty-second year, and he did not long survive. He had reigned for sixty-two years. He was succeeded by his grandson Izzat-Ullah-Khan, son of Rahmat-Ullah-Khan.

Izzat-Ullah-Khan, A.D. 1760.—He ruled only five years and then died.

Karm-Ullah-Khan, A.D. 1765.—During Azmat-Ullah-Khan's later years the administration had become weakened owing to the ruler's advanced age, and some of the neighbouring States took advantage of this to encroach on the territory. Karm-Ullah-Khan determined to recover the lost territory, and set about reorganizing the army. This occupied several years. Territory had been lost in three directions—Bhimbar, Jammu and Punch. These States were all invaded at the same time by separate armies, which were unsuccessful. The Raja then decided to attack each State separately, and was about to do so when he became involved with the Durani governor of Kashmir in a quarrel lasting seven years. About this time the Raja of Punch died childless and without any direct heirs. The Wazir of the State invited Karm-Ullah-Khan to send his son, Agar-Ullah-Khan, to take possession. This was done and the prince was installed as Raja, but was soon afterwards driven out on the death of the Wazir, who had supported his claim, and a member of the Punch family was installed. Meanwhile the difference with Kashmir remained and was accentuated by a demand from the governor for a Rajauri princess in marriage. This was refused and an invasion of Rajauri followed, but was repulsed. The following year another Kashmir army advanced and laid siege to the capital, but it was so strongly fortified that the siege was abandoned on the approach of winter. Ultimately the governor proposed terms of peace which were accepted, and a friendly invitation having been offered to visit Kashmir, the Raja went with some misgiving, but was well treated and returned in safety. He was also on friendly terms with Raja Ranjit-Dev of Jammu.

Rajauri had come under the supremacy of Kabul in 1752 along with the rest of the Panjab, and, as we have seen, was immediately subject to the Durani governor of Kashmir, and there are letters in the possession of the family from Ahmad Shah Durani. This subjection seems to have been opposed

for a time, but friendly relations were afterwards formed with the Kashmir governor, and during the later years of Karm-Ullah-Khan's reign nothing eventful seems to have happened. The State, however, had declined in importance owing to the loss of territory in the reign of Azmat-Ullah-Khan. The Raja died in 1808.

Karm-Ullah-Khan had four sons, of whom *Agar-Ullah-Khan* was the eldest. The officials and people were in favour of the succession of Rahim-Ullah-Khan, owing to the fact that his elder brother was born of a Hindu mother. On being approached, however, he declined to accept the *gaddi* while his elder brother was alive, and Agar-Ullah-Khan was, therefore, installed as Raja. This incident aroused a suspicion in the Raja's mind that his brother had originated the proposal, and gave rise to a coldness between them, which was accentuated by subsequent events.

Soon after his accession the Raja sent Rahim-Ullah-Khan to Kashmir as State Agent, and wrote privately to the governor that he should not be allowed to return. He was, therefore, subjected to a measure of restraint by having a guard always in attendance upon him. After a time, however, he succeeded in making his escape and returned to his estate in Rajauri.

The rise of Sikh power on the plains was fraught with grave consequences to the Hill States, but those to the west of the Chinab were less affected than the others, owing to the fact that the Western Panjab was late in coming under the control of the Sikhs. It was not till Ranjit-Singh rose to power that any attempt was made to subject the Muhammadan States of the Western Hills. One reason for this immunity may have been that Kashmir was still under the Duranis, and their co-religionists of the outer hills were more or less under their protection. By 1810 Ranjit-Singh had fully established his rule on the plains, and only Multan, Peshawar, Kashmir and Hazara still maintained their connection with Kabul. On all these provinces he cast longing eyes.

The main road to Kashmir lay through Bhimbar and Rajauri, and the subjection of these States was, therefore, a necessary preliminary to the conquest of the valley. The first step was taken in 1810 when a force of 5,000 horsemen was sent against them, but the resistance offered by the Bhimbar Chief was so determined that the Sikhs did not advance any farther into the hills. The next attempt was

made in 1812 when Bhimbar was subdued after a stubborn resistance, and tribute was exacted from Rajauri. Shortly afterwards the Chiefs rebelled and a force was sent against them and they were again defeated. In 1812 the Maharaja made his first attempt to conquer Kashmir, and a letter was addressed to the Rajauri Chief inviting friendly relations and disavowing any intention to subvert the State. The Raja promised his assistance, but the expedition was unsuccessful, as was also a second in 1813.

Preparations were made for a third expedition in the autumn of the same year, and in June 1814 the Maharaja advanced into the hills and reached Rajauri. The Raja on being asked placed everything at his service, and rendered substantial help in the early stages of the campaign. On hearing this the Afghan governor of Kashmir sent a messenger with a letter, earnestly entreating him to be faithful to his religion. He was won over, and secretly did all in his power to retard the advance and harass the Sikhs, by sending out his men in the dress of peasants to cut off stragglers and supplies and create a panic. By this time the rainy season had set in, and the Sikhs could not bear up against the cold, or withstand the attacks of the Afghans. It soon became evident that there was no alternative but retreat. Many of the superior officers and a large number of men perished, and all the baggage was lost. It is even said that the Maharaja himself escaped with difficulty.

The Sikh officers represented to Ranjit-Singh that their misfortunes were due chiefly to the double part played by Agar-Ullah-Khan, and in retaliation a large force was sent in 1815 to punish the State. The capital was besieged, but could not be taken till guns were brought from the plains, with which the walls were battered down. Seeing resistance to be hopeless the Raja escaped towards Kotli. The town was then looted and the country laid waste for many miles around.

On the departure of the Sikhs, Agar-Ullah-Khan returned and did his best to restore the town, but the fortifications were in too ruinous a condition for repair.

After such a disaster by the Sikhs time was required to make the necessary preparations for another attempt to capture Kashmir, and it was not till the spring of 1819 that an advance was made. As Agar-Ullah-Khan was still in revolt, an officer was in 1818 deputed by the Maharaja to approach

Mirza Rahim-Ullah-Khan and offer him the chiefship of Rajauri, if he undertook to be loyal to the Sikh cause and give every assistance in the coming campaign. He was told that failing this the State would be overturned and annexed. He consented to wait on the Maharaja, then in Wazirabad, and was there installed as Raja and sent back to Rajauri.

In April 1819, the Sikh army advanced into the hills and occupied Rajauri and Punch. Agar-Ullah-Khan and the Punch Raja, who were on the side of the Afghans, held the approaches to the passes of the Pir Panjal, while Rahim-Ullah-Khan joined the Sikhs and gave every assistance in his power. It is said that he pointed out passes by which a crossing was effected and the Afghans were driven back and dispersed. Kashmir then became a province of the Sikh kingdom. For these services the Raja was suitably rewarded, and some time later a *jagir* was granted him in Kashmir. Raja Agar-Ullah-Khan was captured in the spring of 1820 by Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu, who had been appointed for this duty, and was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825.

In the autumn of 1823, Rajauri was visited by William Moorcroft on his way from Kashmir to Bukhara. He has the following note: "The town of Rajaor formed the limit of our next day's march; there was nothing on the road particularly worthy of note. From the same spot the whole range of the Ratan Panchal was in sight, and the peaks to the eastwards, where they seemed to unite with those of the Pir Panchal, were much loftier than those near where we had crossed, and were tipped with snow. At Rajaor we were detained four days by Mr. Trebeck labouring under indigestion, which confined him to the house. We were lodged in the Raja's dwelling, a substantial stone edifice, the interior of which had been stripped of everything valuable by the Sikhs. They had also demolished the old wall of the city, which appeared to have been of great solidity. The town stands upon the side of a hill and along the east runs a small stream, called here the Malkani Tihoi: on the opposite side was a garden laid out in imitation of Shahlimar, but it had been demolished by the Sikhs. The bazar is small but clean and well supplied."

"The present Raja of Rajaor, Rahim-Ullah-Khan, was the half brother of the preceding Raja, Agar-Ullah-Khan, who is now a prisoner at Lahore. Ranjit had compelled him to join his forces in his first and unsuccessful

attack on Kashmir, the failure of which he ascribed to Agar-Ullah's treachery. Accordingly in revenge he sent an overpowering force against Rajaor, took and partly destroyed it, and having captured the Raja threw him into confinement and placed his half brother in the Raj. Rahim-Ullah was a mild, good-humoured man, and treated us with much kindness."

Like other Chiefs who were tributary to Ranjit-Singh, the Rajauri Raja had to assist, when called upon, in military expeditions against Punch, Hazara and other places.

Soon after 1820, Dhian-Singh of Jammu was created a Raja, and the State of Punch, from which the old ruling family had been expelled, was conferred upon him in fief. Previous to this his elder brother, Gulab-Singh, had been made Raja of Jammu, and soon afterwards Suchet-Singh, the youngest brother, became Raja of Ramnagar. They were thus able to control the whole of the outer hills between the Ravi and the Jehlam, and Rajauri alone seems to have maintained a kind of independence. Raja Agar-Ullah-Khan was then in Lahore, but his son, Hasib-Ullah-Khan, hd a been liberated, and, receiving encouragement, gathered a force and invaded Rajauri. He was opposed on the border and a messenger was at once despatched to the Maharaja, who sent support to the Raja, and the invasion was checked and Hasib-Ullah-Khan captured and again imprisoned in Lahore.

As already mentioned, the Jammu family were anxious to acquire Rajauri, and an amusing story has come down from those times and is recorded in the vernacular history. At that time Hira-Singh, eldest son of Raja Dhian-Singh, then about twelve years old, had become the special pet of the Maharaja, who conferred on him the Jasrota State, with the title of Raja. Finding no other way of making their request for the transfer of the Rajauri State, they utilized Raja Hira-Singh for the purpose. Prompted by them and in their presence he one day said to the Maharaja: "Maharaj, you have conferred upon me many favours for which I am grateful, but there is one thing wanting for which I make request." On being asked what it was, Hira-Singh replied, that among the favours he had received there was no good rice land for the use of his household. The Maharaja asked where he would prefer to have such lands. He replied that Rajauri was famous for its rice. The Maharaja then turned to the two brothers, Rajas

Dhian-Singh and Gulab-Singh, and asked their opinion, and they replied that it would be a great kindness if Rajauri was added to Raja Hira-Singh's *jagir*. The Maharaja then remarked : "Very good, let Hira-Singh have Rajauri and Rahim-Ullah-Khan, Jammu and Jasrota." No more was heard of the rice lands of Rajauri, but other means were devised to gain the desired end.

The Raja had long pondered over the question as to how this danger to the State was to be averted. He thought of waiting on the Maharaja and representing his case, but feared to do so in open Darbar, which offered the only opportunity. He had, however, gone to Lahore in the hope of finding a suitable opportunity to present his request, but none offered. Hearing of his absence and of the more or less defenceless condition of the State, the territory was invaded from various quarters by Jammu armies ; and although a brave stand was made things looked very critical, when suddenly the advance was suspended and the invader began to retire. The news of the invasion had reached the Maharaja, and fearing the consequences Raja Dhian-Singh sent an order to evacuate the State. In the famine of 1833, in which Kashmir suffered greatly, the neighbouring States were called upon for help, and the Raja of Rajauri sent large supplies of all kinds of grain for the relief of the poor people, with orders that it should be distributed free.

In 1835 Rajauri was visited by another English traveller in the person of Mr. Vigne, who spent several years in the Western Hills. He travelled from Jammu *via* Aknur and Naushahra, and was hospitably entertained by Raja Rahim-Ullah-Khan. He tells us much about his visit, and the following notice of the country is interesting though not quite accurate : "The territory of Rajawar, which lies in the way from Lahore to Kashmir, was originally, I believe, a gift to his (the Raja's) ancestor by Aurangzeb, whose great-grandfather, Akbar, had taken the valley of Kashmir ; and upon one occasion he showed me three original grants, sealed and signed by Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, his son. They were beautiful and interesting specimens of Persian penmanship ; but the lapse of time, and the conquests of the Sikhs, have much lessened the territory and revenue of Rajawar, part of which arose from a right to 12,000 *kirwahs* of rice in Kashmir, where the Rajah still holds a village near Zynapur. The country under the dominion of Rajawar originally extended from Punch to Jammu."

" I asked the Raja how he pronounced the name of his capital; Rajawur, was his answer (though it is usually called Rajawur), with an emphasis on the last syllable. Rajawur means the fortress of the Raj, the kingdom or territory. Rahim-Ullah-Shah is deservedly considered a very learned and well read man among natives, and I know of no one whom I would sooner consult on the subject of tradition, or from whom I could collect more local and historical information regarding these countries than himself."

" Raja Rahim-Ullah-Shah of Rajawur is now from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His person is short, but large and muscular, his mouth large, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes smaller in proportion and the expression of his countenance, though somewhat stern and heavy, is decidedly a good one. I have been his guest at Rajawur on three separate occasions, and he and his sons have always treated me with great kindness and civility."

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh the Sikh Kingdom fell into great disorder, and on the defeat of the Sikh army in 1845-46 the hill tracts were made over to Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu for £750,000, the amount due from the Sikhs as war indemnity. On receiving this news the Raja of Rajauri at once went to Lahore to represent his case to Sir Henry Lawrence. Meanwhile in May 1846 a force from Jammu entered the territory and occupied the capital. In the following September a force advanced from Kashmir under the command of Faqir-Ullah-Khan, a son of the Raja, and drove the Dogras out of Rajauri. But this was of no avail. The Raja had gone from Lahore to Simla to submit his claim to the Governor-General, and was there confronted with a letter from his son, addressed to himself and intercepted on the way, giving a full account of the capture of Rajauri. It was then impressed upon him that he had no alternative but to submit, as the whole of the hill tracts had been made over to Raja Gulab-Singh. He was then made to write a letter to his son forbidding further resistance. In October Maharaja Gulab-Singh, accompanied by a British officer, arrived at Rajauri, and Faqir-Ullah-Khan was given the option of remaining in subjection to Jammu or retiring to British territory and elected to leave.

The vernacular history narrates in pathetic language the story of the exile (*jilawatani* as it is called); the pain felt at having to abandon a home where the family had lived for

eight hundred years, and the sorrowful scenes attending their departure. Crowds thronged the streets and the roofs of the houses, weeping and wailing, to gain a last look at those whom they would never see again. Meantime Raja Rahim-Ullah-Khan was in Simla and must then have been about seventy-five years of age. There he too was given the option of remaining in Rajauri or removing to British territory, and he accepted the latter alternative. A messenger was then despatched to his son at Lahore to acquaint him with this decision, and instruct him to convey the members of the family to Rihlu in Kangra District, which had been appointed as his residence, and in December 1846 they reached their destination. A pension of Rs. 16,000 a year was fixed for their support, payable from Jammu through the Government, and the old Rihlu Fort was given as a residence, along with other buildings. The Raja himself arrived in January 1847, and there the main branch of the family has resided ever since.

The Raja died in June 1847 and was succeeded by his grandson, Hamid-Ullah-Khan, his two elder sons having predeceased him.

On the outbreak of war at Multan in 1848 some members of the family placed their services at the disposal of the British Government, and fought through the second Sikh War.

The family being large, it soon became evident that they could not all reside together in Rihlu, and a request was submitted to Government that they should be allowed to purchase another place of residence in addition to Rihlu. The request was granted and three places were offered ; they chose the Saman Burj in Wazirabad, formerly a country residence of Maharaja Ranjit-Singh. Thither some members of the family retired in 1855, the head of this branch being Faqir-Ullah-Khan, the Raja's uncle.

Both branches of the family rendered valuable service to Government during the Mutiny—the Rihlu branch in Dharmsala and Kangra and the Wazirabad branch in the army before Delhi. On the outbreak occurring, Mirza Ata-Ullah-Khan and Mirza Abdulla-Khan, sons of Mirza Faqir-Ullah-Khan, went to Lahore and joined the 10th Bengal Cavalry—Hodson's Horse—in which they served all through the Mutiny, with much distinction. Their services were recognized by Government, and there are still in the possession of the family

many letters from high Government officers of that time, bearing strong testimony to their steadfast loyalty and devotion.

In 1863-64, an extensive *jagir* in Rihlu was granted by Government in lieu of the cash pension of Rs. 16,000 annually.

Raja Hamid-Ullah-Khan served in Dharmsala as an Extra Assistant Commissioner for many years, and died in 1879. He was succeeded by his son, Niamat-Ullah-Khan.

In later years many members of the Rajauri family have served Government in almost every department of the administration, some of them with great distinction. This is specially true of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Raja Ata-Ullah-Khan, son of Mirza Faqir-Ullah-Khan of Wazirabad, to whom reference has already been made. He served in Abyssinia and the Afghan War, and afterwards was appointed to the responsible position of British Envoy at Kabul, a post which he filled for some years, and died in 1902. His son, the present head of that branch of the family, is the Hon'ble Raja Ikram-Ullah-Khan, M.L.C.

Ni'amat-Ullah-Khan was also for some time in Government service and, on retiring, was appointed an Honorary Magistrate with powers in his own *jagir*. He died in 1904, and was followed by his son, Azim-Ullah-Khan.

In 1905, Rihlu, along with the whole Kangra valley, was desolated by the fearful earthquake of that year, in which no fewer than twenty-nine members of the Rajauri family were killed, and among them was the Raja, a young man of great promise. Having left no heir he was succeeded by his uncle, Raja Wali-Ullah Khan.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Punch State.

Punch State, in ancient times, was situated in the valleys of the Punch Tohi and its tributaries. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal Range, on the west by the Jehlam, on the south probably by the plains and on the east by Rajauri (Rajapuri). The original name of the State was Parnotsa, of which Punch is a derivation, and the original capital was at Lohara, the present Lohrin to the north-east of the town of Punch. Like Rajapuri, the State was situated within the hill tract called Darvabhisara, lying between the Jehlam and the Chinab, and was probably the first principality to be founded in that tract. The earliest reference to the State is in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, A.D. 633.[1] At that period Parnotsa seems to have been the name by which the whole tract was known, and it was then subject to Kashmir and had no king of its own. He calls it Pun-nu-tso, and placed it at 700 *li*, or 117 miles, to the south-west of Kashmir. Its distance from Kashmir, measured on the map, is 75 miles *via* Baramula and Uri, which is equal to about 100 miles of actual road distance.

The name Parnotsa, in its abbreviated form, has many variants. Cunningham uses Punacha or Punach; by the Kashmiris it is called Punats; Moorcroft spells the name Prunch or Pruntz. General Court also has Prunch, but it is called Punje by Mirza Mogal Beg, who was Wilford's surveyor, and Punch by Vigne.

Like Rajapuri the whole tract in ancient times was inhabited by the great Khasha tribe, which held the outer hills from the river Jehlam to the Banihal Pass. The descendants of these tribes at the present day are probably the Khakhas of the lower Jehlam Valley and the outer hills.[2] The Khashas are often referred to in the *Rajatarangini*, and the Rajas of Rajapuri and Lohara were called "lords of the Khashas." In later times the southern section of Darvabhisara was conquered by the Chibhs, who founded the States of Bhimbar and Khari-Kharyali. From them the whole tract is now called Chibhan.

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[1] *Si-yu-ki* (transl. Beal), Volume I, page 163.

[2] In former times the letters *s* and *sh*, initial and medial, were pronounced as *h* and *kh* as among the Gaddis of Chamba at the present time, initial and medial.

Hiuen Tsiang, on his journey from Kashmir to the plains of India, passed through Parnotsa and Rajapuri and on to Sakala (Sialkot), probably by Aknur, over a road still in use. Of Parnotsa he writes as follows :—" This kingdom is about 2,000 *li* in circuit, with many mountains and river courses, so that the arable land is very contracted. The seed is sown, however, at regular intervals and there are a quantity of flowers and fruits. There are many sugarcanes, but no grapes. *Amalas, Udumbaras, Mochas,* etc., flourish and are grown in large quantities, like woods ; they are prized on account of their taste. The climate is warm and damp. The people are brave. They wear ordinarily cotton clothing. The disposition of the people is true and upright ; they are Buddhists. There are five *sangharamas,* mostly deserted. There is no independent ruler, the country being tributary to Kashmir. To the north of the chief town is a *sangharama* with a few priests. Here there is a *stupa,* which is celebrated for its miracles. Going south-east from this, 400 *li* or so, we come to the kingdom of *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (Rajapuri)."

Hiuen Tsiang probably left the Kashmir Valley by the Tosa-Maidan Pass or a pass near it. Of his journey he writes, as taking him " south-west, and crossing some mountains and traversing many precipices. Going 700 *li* or so we come to the country Pun-nu-tso (Punach)." On this Cunningham [1] remarks : " Hiuen Tsiang describes Punach as 2,000 *li,* or 333 miles, in circuit, which is just about twice its actual size. On the west it is bounded by the Jehlam, on the north by the Pir Panchal Range, and on the east and south-east, by the small State of Rajaori. But these limits, which include the petty State of Kotali, are not more than 170 miles in circuit ; and even if the tract at the sources of the Punach river be included, the frontier will not be more than 200 miles in circuit. But as the distances in the mountain districts were most probably estimated by the lengths of the roads, the circuit of the frontier line may be taken as equivalent to about 300 miles in road distance."

It is probable that at that early period the district of Parnotsa included Kotli and extended down to the plains, and we must also bear in mind that the Chinese pilgrims are inclined to over-estimate distances whenever they are dealing with difficult and hilly country.

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[1] *Ancient Geography of India* (London, 1871), pages 128-*f*.

The next historical reference to Parnotsa is in the *Rajatarangini* in the reign of Lalitaditya Muktapida (A.D. 669). Parnotsa is there said to have been founded by that king, who "when receiving fruit (*phala*) constructed Phalapura; when taking a leaf (*parna*) Parnotsa, and while at play (*Kridan*) the *vihara* of (*Kridarama*)." (*Rajatarangini*, IV, 184). The reference in Hiuen Tsiang's *Travels*, however, proves that Parnotsa was older than the time of Lalitaditya, though still subject to Kashmir in his reign as it had been at an earlier period.

But while Parnotsa seems to have been the name of the tract, and the principal place in early times, it was not the original capital of the State. In the *Rajatarangini* we find frequent references to a hill tract called Lohara, the first of these being in the reign of Lalitaditya (*c.* A.D. 700) (*Rajatarangini* IV, 177), where the name is applied to the tract. Wilson seems to have been the first among modern writers to refer to the locality in his essay on the *Hindu History of Kashmir* (page 47), and he identifies it with Lahore. As Lohara is frequently referred to by Kalhana as a hill tract, containing a fortress in close proximity to Kashmir, this identification is manifestly wrong. It was in 1892 that Sir Aurel Stein undertook a tour in the mountains for the express purpose of identifying the locality, and in this he was successful. In the head waters of the Punch Tohi he found a tract named Loharan (Loran on the maps), which answers fully to the description of ancient Lohara. An account of this identification was given in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1893. There is also an interesting note from Sir Aurel Stein's pen in the *Rajatarangini* (Volume II, page 293, *et. seq*), from which we give the following extract:—"Loharin (marked as Loran on the map) comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pir Pantsal Range, between the Tatakuti Peak and the Tosa-Maidan Pass. The Loharin river, which is formed by these streams, receives, at Mandi, the stream of the Gajri Valley which adjoins Loharin to the north-west. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Suran river with which together it forms the Tohi (Tausi) of Prunts."

On a ridge near the centre of this valley was situated the strong fortress of Loharakotta, or Lohkot, which was the original capital of the State and the place of residence of the Rajas. This fort is referred to by Alberuni (A.D. 1017-31)

and other Muhammadan historians, as well as in the *Rajatarangini*, and it twice successfully withstood a siege by Mahmud of Ghazni. It must, therefore, have been built before his invasion of India.

Though the original name of the tract was probably Parnotsa, we know from the *Rajatarangini* that the name of the State was Lohara, from its foundation till the reign of Muhammad Shah of Kashmir (A.D. 1530), and probably down to the time of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir in A.D. 1586. Muhammad Shah is stated to have come to Lohara about A.D. 1530, and "exacted revenues and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country." The Hindu dynasty must, therefore, have come to an end at an earlier date. We may conclude that the district of Lohara was the original nucleus of the State, and the strong fort the residence of the founder as it was of his successors.

The Lohara State [1] was founded about A.D. 830 by Nara, who was probably a local petty Chief of the Khasha tribe. He is first mentioned in the reign of Utpalapida of Kashmir (A.D. 850-55) in the following reference: "Nara and other merchants, who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled Darvabhisara and the neighbouring regions setting up their own thrones." This sentence as a whole conveys the impression that Nara, and others like him, were petty Chiefs like the Ranas and Thakurs of the Eastern hills, each ruling over a small area and all under the supremacy of Kashmir. Nara may have been one of the more powerful among these petty rulers, for he succeeded in extending his authority over some of his neighbours and thus founded the Lohara State.

We are fortunate in having the genealogical tree of the Lohara Rajas, in succession to Nara, for three hundred years. About A.D. 950, a marriage alliance took place between the royal lines of Lohara and Kashmir, Didda, a Lohara princess, being married to Kshemagupta. On her husband's death she disposed of her son and grandsons, and assumed full power and ruled in her own name. Before her death she adopted her younger brother's son as heir-apparent, and he succeeded to the throne. During the reign of Harshadeva of Kashmir (A.D. 1089-1101) a revolt took place and suspicion having fallen upon two young princes of the Lohara family, they fled from Kashmir: the elder brother, Uchchala, taking refuge in

[1] *Rajatarangini*, trans, Stein, IV, 712.

Rajapuri, where he was hospitably received by Soma-Pala, the Raja of the State. One of the latter's officials, however, having been bribed by Harshadeva, planned to murder Uchchala while on a visit to his house. Of this plot Soma-Pala was cognisant, and the young prince, enraged at this perfidy, forced his way into the Raja's presence and addressed him as follows :—" Long ago there lived a king of Darvabhisara, Nara, a descendant of Bharadvaja, his son was Naravahana, who begot Phulla. The latter begot Satavahana, from him sprung Chanda, his son was Chandaraja, who also had two sons, called Gopala and Simharaja. Simharaja, who had many sons, gave his daughter, Didda, to King Kshemagupta, in marriage. She, being left without a husband or male children, placed Samgramaraja, the son of her brother, Udayaraja, on the throne (of Kashmir). Another brother of hers, Kantiraja, begot Jassaraja, Samgrama[raja] was the father of Ananta: Jassa[raja] that of Tauvanga and Gunga. From Ananta was born King Kalasa and from Gunga [was born] Malla. From Kalasa was born Harsadeva and the rest and then we from Malla. Then when this is the pedigree how can foolish persons ask: Is this one (of the princes of Kashmir ?)." (*Rajatarangini*, VII, 1282-87).

It will be noted that in the above reference Nara is called "the king of Darvabhisara." This may be mere hyperbole, but it is possible that he had acquired a certain amount of supremacy over a large portion of territory, and was acknowledged as suzerain. This at least is certain that he was the ancestor of the Lohara ruling family, and the founder of the State. Lohara was thus an older State than Rajapuri, and may have included some of the territory afterwards merged in that State.

We may assume that *Nara* ruled the State till about A.D. 870, and was succeeded by his son, *Naravahana*, who ruled till about A.D. 890. He was in power in the reign of Sankara-Varman of Kashmir, who is said to have marched through his territory on an expedition against Gurjara (Gujrat or the Central Panjab). The Raja did not await his coming, for we read that the shouts of the Kashmir army " were heard, not by the troops of the lord of Darvabhisara, but by the mountain gorges, in which that frightened [ruler] had taken refuge." At a later time, perhaps on the return march from the plains, Naravahana fell into his hands, and was slain at night together with his followers, on a suspicion of treachery, though, as Kalhana states, he cherished no evil intent against the king of Kashmir.

Naravahana was succeeded by his son, *Phulla*, and he by Satavahana, but of them we know nothing. After them came Chanda and *Chanduraja*, who were followed by *Simharaja* about A.D. 950. Simharaja had, as one of his queens, the daughter of Bhima Shahi, the ruler of Udabhanda (Ohind), and her daughter, Didda, was married to Kshemagupta of Kashmir, about A.D. 950. This marriage had important results in the political relations of Lohara and Kashmir. On Kshemagupta's death, in A.D. 958, his son, Abhimanyu II, a minor, came to the throne under the guardianship of Queen Didda. After disposing of her son and grandsons she claimed full power, and from A.D. 980 ruled Kashmir in her own name. Towards the end of her life, she adopted as her successor, Sangramaraja, a younger son of her brother, *Udayaraja*, who followed her father, Simharaja, as ruler of Lohara; and he was acknowledged as *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent. Queen Didda died in A.D. 1003. Udayaraja, the ruler of Lohara, died about A.D. 1000, and was succeeded by his elder son, *Vigraharaja*, who in Didda's lifetime made an attempt to secure the throne of Kashmir, probably regarding himself as having a better claim than his younger brother. He was, however, defeated and compelled to retire to Lohara.

It is now necessary to make a digression in order to elucidate the sequence of events at that momentous period. The Hindu Shahi dynasty of kings then ruled the Panjab. They had displaced the Turki-Shahi dynasty in Kabul about A.D. 870, and soon afterwards, probably about A.D. 880-90, they were compelled to remove the seat of government from Kabul to Ohind (Udabandapura), on the Indus, in consequence of the increasing pressure of the Muhammadan advance from the West. But though it had ceased to be the capital, Kabul and a large part of Afghanistan still remained a portion of the Shahi kingdom, under a governor, till about the latter part of the tenth century when it was finally added to the kingdom of Ghazni.

Jaipal of Ohind [1] succeeded his father, Bhimpal, in A.D. 962, and his reign was marked by constant struggles with the invaders. Early in his reign, Udabandapura had become unsafe as the residence of the ruler, and about A.D. 970 the seat of government was transferred to Lahore. Jaipal's struggles with the Muhammadans were to the west of the Indus, and in all of them he seems to have met with defeat.

[1] *Tarikh i-Yamini*, Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 24-*ff*, and Appendix, page 438.

His last encounter was with Mahmud in A.D. 1002, on the plains of Peshawar, and there he was taken prisoner with many of his officers. On being liberated he abdicated in favour of his son, Anandpal, and ascended the funeral pyre.

From Anandpal's reign,[1] if not earlier, Lohara and Kashmir were brought into close relations with the Shahi kingdom. In A.D. 1005, Mahmud again advanced towards the Indus, and was opposed by Anandpal on the Peshawar plain. To his support came contingents from all parts of northern India, and among others we may safely include Lohara and Kashmir. These countries were then, as already noted, respectively under the rule of Vigraharaja and his brother, Sangramaraja.

On his defeat, Anandpal fled with his army to the Jehlam, pursued by the Muhammadans, and from there he retired into the outer hills, most probably, up the valley of the Punch Tohi, towards Lohara. His army, fleeing south, was pursued as far as Sodhra on the Chinab, which was then the ferry on the main line of road to Lahore. In A.D. 1009, Anandpal again opposed Mahmud on the Indus and was defeated, and his army completely routed. Most likely on this occasion also he escaped into the outer hills near Lohara, while Mahmud continued his advance to Nagarkot (Kangra). Again in A.D. 1013, Mahmud crossed the Indus with the intention of invading India. By this time the country to the west of the Indus was all under Muhammadan rule. Anandpal was then dead, and had been succeeded by his son, Trilochanapal, whose name in the Muhammadan histories has many variants.

Being defeated on the plains, Trilochanapal seems to have retreated into the hills up the valley of the Punch Tohi, pursued by Mahmud. Help had been asked from Kashmir and a strong contingent was despatched under Tunga, the Commander-in-Chief, which crossed the Pir Panjal and descended the Tohi Valley, probably to a point not far from Jehlam, where the army of Trilochanapal was encamped. There can be little doubt that a contingent from Lohara also

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Zamini*, Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 33, 442-444, and *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1908, Volume I, pages 40-*ff*. and 46-7.

The following letter from Anandpal to Mahmud is worth quoting :—" I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you, and are spreading in Khurasan. If you wish I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 100 elephants, or if you wish I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by you, and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you." Alberuni. *Indica*, page 13, Volume II.

formed part of the force. The battle that was fought soon after Tunga's arrival, and which is referred to in the *Rajatarangini*, probably took place near the junction of the Tohi with the Jehlam, and it crushed the Shahi power for ever.

The account of the battle [1] is so interesting that we give it in full :—" In the month of Margasirsha [Jan. and Feb.] the king [of Kashmir] despatched him [Tunga] to the country of the illustrious Sahi, Trilochanapala, who had asked for help. A large army, attended by many Rajaputras [royal kinsmen,] chief councillors, feudal chiefs, and others [of rank], capable of making the earth shake, followed him. When he, together with his son, had been hospitably received by the Sahi, who had gone to meet him, and he had been in that land for five or six days, the Sahi noticed that they gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other [preparations] proper for an attack, and spoke thus to Tunga, who was intoxicated [with self-confidence] : 'Until you have become acquainted with the Turushka warfare, you should post yourself on the scarp of this hill, [keeping] idle and inactive against your desire.' This good counsel of Trilochana he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, [on the plain] eagerly looking out for battle. Then he crossed thence with a rather small force to the other bank of the Tausi (Tohi), and defeated a corps which Hammira had sent on a reconnaissance. Though he was filled thereat with pride, the Sahi, experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before. Blinded by his desire for battle he did not accept the Sahi's counsel. Advice is of no avail for those whose destruction is near."

" In the morning then came in fury and in full battle array the leader of the Turushka army himself, skilled in stratagem. Thereupon the army of Tunga dispersed immediately. The Sahi force, however, was seen for [some] time, moving about in battle. Even when the Sahi's army was gone, Jayasimha rushed about fighting and Srivardhana and Vibhramarka, the Damara, of Samgrama's family. These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle, which resounded with [the tramp of] horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost. Who could describe the greatness of Trilochanapala whom countless enemies even could not defeat in battle ? Trilochana causing torrents of blood

[1] *Rajatarangini*, VII, *v.* 47—69.

to pour forth in battle, resembled Siva [Trilochana], when sending forth the fire that burns the world at the end of the Kalpa. After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle, this [prince] who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes, pressing [around him]. When Trilochana had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Chandalas, which [resembled clouds of] locusts. Even after he had obtained his victory, Hammira did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious Trilochanapala. Trilochana displayed great resolution also after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants, endeavoured to recover victory."

"I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Sahis has vanished even [down to their very] name, this being only an incident .... That Sahi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated, now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court, it ever was or was not."[1]

Unfortunately Kalhana has omitted to indicate the year in which Tunga's expedition took place, but many of the details seem to point to Mahmud's invasion of A.H. 404 (= A.D. 1013), and it was probably the last occasion on which Trilochanapala made a stand against him in the Panjab. It is clear from the context that the battle was fought in the Tausi or Tohi Valley, and probably towards the lower part, not far from Jehlam.

Mahmud's expedition of A.D. 1013,[2] above referred to, is fully described in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, and is similar in many details to that of the *Rajatarangini*. It is as follows :— "After the Sultan had purified Hind from idolatry and raised mosques therein, he determined to invade the capital of Hind, to punish those who kept idols and would not acknowledge the unity of God. He marched with a large army in the year A.H. 404 (A.D. 1013) during a dark night and at the close of Autumn, on account of the purity of the southern breezes at that season .... When the Sultan had arrived near the frontier of Hind, snow fell such as had never been seen before, in so much that the passes of the hills were closed, and

[1] *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 37-8-9. Hammira—Amir.

[2] Alberuni pays a high tribute to the Hindu Shahi Kings :—

"This Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct and .... there is not the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing." Alberuni, *Indica*, Volume II, page 13.

mountains and valleys became of one level. The feet of the horses and camels were affected by the cold, so it may be conceived what the faces, hands and feet of men suffered. The well-known roads were concealed, and the right could not be distinguished from the left, or what was behind from that which was before, and they were unable to return till God should give the order. The Sultan employed himself in the meantime in collecting supplies, and sent for his guards from the different provinces. After having thus accumulated the means of warfare, and having been joined by his soldiers, who had come from different directions, in number equal to the drops of an Autumnal rain, he left these winter quarters in the Spring; and had the earth been endowed with feeling it would have groaned under the weight of the iron, the warriors, the horses and the beasts of burden. The guides marched on in front over hill and dale, before the sun arose and even before the light of the stars was extinguished. He urged on his horses for two months, among broad and deep rivers, and among jungles in which wild cattle even might lose their way."

"When the Sultan arrived near the end of his destination he set his cavalry in array, and formed them into different bodies, appointing his brother, Amir Nasar, son of Nasir-ud-Din, to command the right wing, consisting of valiant heroes; Arslan-ul-Jazib to the left wing, consisting of powerful young men; and Abu Abdulla Muhammad bin Ibrahim-ul-Tai to the advance guard, consisting of fiery Arab cavaliers; to the centre he appointed Altuntash, the Chamberlain, with the Sultan's personal slaves and attendants, as firm as mountains."

"Nidar Bhim,[1] the enemy of God and the Chief of Hind, alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned his vassals and generals and took refuge within a pass, which was narrow, precipitous and inaccessible. They entrenched themselves behind stones, and closed the entrance to the pass by their elephants, which looked like so many hills from their lofty stature. Here he remained in great security, being persuaded that the place was impervious to attack, but he did not know that God is the protector of the faithful, and the annihilator of infidels."

"When the Sultan learnt the intention of Nidar Bhim with respect to the protraction of the war, and his confidence in his security, he advanced against them with his Dailamite

[1] Nidar—'fearless,' son of Trilochanapal.

warriors and Satanic Afghan spearmen, and they penetrated the pass like gimlets into wood, ascending the hills like mountain goats and descending them like torrents of water. The action lasted for several days without intermission, till at last some of the Hindus were drawn out into the plain to fight, like oil sucked up into the wick of a lamp, or like iron attracted by a magnet, and there they were assaulted and killed by the cavalry, just as the knight on the chess board demolishes pawns."

"When his vassals had joined Nidar Bhim, with reinforcements, he consented to leave his entrenchments and come out himself into the plain, having the hills behind him and elephants drawn up on each wing. The battle raged furiously, and when the elephants of the Hindus moved on with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes."

"The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills, and in the valleys, ravines and beds of torrents. A large number of elephants, which the enemy had looked upon as strongholds to protect them, fell into the hands of the victors, as well as much other booty. So God granted the Sultan the victory of Nardin, such as added to the decoration of the mantle of Islam, which had not before that period extended to the place."

"The Sultan returned marching in the rear of this immense booty, and slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap, and men of respectability in their native land were degraded by becoming the slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honours on his own religion and degrades infidelity."

Ferishta [1] also has a reference to this campaign, as follows :—"In the year 404 H. Mahmud marched his army against the fort of Ninduna situated on the mountains of Balnath, then in the possession of the Raja of Lahore. Anandpal had lately died, and his son, Jaipal the Second (Trilochanapal), had succeeded to the government. When the grandson of Jaipal (Trilochanapal) saw that he could not oppose the king in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmir, leaving troops for the defence of his capital. Mahmud immediately invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. The king, having granted to the besieged their lives, took

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[1] *Ferishta*, Briggs, trans. 1910, Volume I, page 54, and Elliot's *History*, Volume II, pages 448-49.

everything of value out of the place, and, appointing a new governor, moved without delay towards Kashmir, on which the Raja of Lahore, abandoning that province, fled to the hills. Mahmud plundered Kashmir and having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with rich spoils to his capital."

There is yet another reference, in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* to this campaign : "In A.H. 404 the Sultan marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountain of Balnath. Pur Jaipal[1] left veteran troops for its protection while he himself passed into one of the mountain valleys of Kashmir. The Sultan having reached Ninduna invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. Sultan Mahmud with a few of his personal attendants entered it and took all the property he found there. Having left Sarogh as governor of the fort, he himself proceeded to the Kashmir Valley, where Pur Jaipal had taken up his position. The Chief, however, did not await his arrival but fled, and when the Sultan reached the pass he obtained great spoil and a large number of slaves. He also converted many infidels to Muhammadanism, and having spread Islam in that country returned to Ghazni." (Elliot's *History,* Volume II, App., page 451).

Nardin, where the battle was fought, seems to have been in the vicinity of Jehlam, as also the fort of Ninduna, but the true reading of these names has been lost and cannot be restored. The latter place is said to have been on "the mountain of Balnath," overhanging the Jehlam, and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Balnath.

It has been suggested by one writer that the action, which preceded the capture of Ninduna, was fought at the Margala Pass, some distance on the Attock side of Rawalpindi, which is said to answer well to the description given of it by 'Utbi in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini.* 'Utbi, who was Mahmud's secretary, did not himself accompany the army into India, and this may account for a certain want of preciseness in his description of the campaign. In any case it seems improbable that Mahmud would be allowed to advance as far as the Jehlam without being opposed, and it is worth noting that Nidar Bhim—'the dauntless Bhim'—that is, Bhimpal, son of Trilochanapal—was in

[1] *Note.*—Trilochanapala's name as found in the *Rajatarangini* goes through various forms in the Muhammadan authors. Some of these are—Tadan Jaipal, Nanduwa Jaipal, Turu Jaipal, Puru Jaipal, Nardajanpala, Niranjanpal, Tasdar Jaipal, and many more. (Elliot, Volume II, page 427).

command in the battle which preceded the capture of Ninduna ; and his father in that so graphically described in the *Rajatarangini*. While, therefore, there are many points of similarity in the two descriptions, the doubt remains as to whether they refer to the same battle, or to two different actions in the same or a succeeding campaign. In either case we may safely assume that the Shahi army retreated from Nindnna up the valley of the Punch Tohi, pursued, as we are told, by Mahmud. Down to the present time a road from the north called the "royal road," crosses the Jehlam near the town and a branch runs up its left bank, and up the left bank of the Tohi, over an open plain, to Punch. It was doubtless the main line of advance to Kashmir in former times.

Mahmud is said to have pursued the Hindu army into the Kashmir Valley, but it is certain that the main valley is not indicated. It has to be borne in mind that at that period the whole of the outer hills, from the Indus to the Ravi, were subject to Kashmir. Neither on this nor any other occasion did Mahmud succeed in crossing the Pir Panjal, though it is certain that he advanced as far as Lohara.

The battle on the banks of the Tohi, described by Kalhana, was the last occasion on which the Shahi Kings opposed Mahmud in the Panjab. Long and bravely had they struggled to stem the tide of invasion and save their country, but in vain, and with the loss of their kingdom their very name perished from the earth. Trilochanapal continued to oppose Mahmud, and was killed in A.D. 1021, and his son, Bhimpal, who succeeded him, is no longer referred to as an independent ruler by the Muhammadan historians. He was the last of his line and was killed in A.D. 1026 (*cf.* Alberuni, *Indica*, Volume II, page 13).

Having penetrated so far into the hills, Mahmud must have heard much about Kashmir, and we are told by 'Utbi that he was desirous of invading that country. After such a severe engagement, however, probably with heavy losses, his army must have been too exhausted to prosecute the campaign, especially as the hot weather was close at hand ; and he retired to Ghazni, laden with booty.

After bringing disaster on the Shahi army by his impetuosity and rashness,[1] Tunga retreated slowly to Kashmir, and was soon afterwards assassinated, along with his son, by

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, Volume II, pages 73-4-*ff*.

Sangramaraja, at the instigation of Vigraharaja of Lohara, who had a grudge against him.

In A.D. 1015, Mahmud again invaded the Panjab for the purpose of conquering Kashmir. On his previous expedition some of the local hill Chiefs had given in their submission, but revolted on his retirement, and Ferishta states that he came to punish them, and besiege some forts which he had not reduced on his first expedition into the hills. The first and most important of these was Lohkot, that is, Loharakotta, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated Mahmud's utmost efforts. Not being able to reduce it in the summer season, he was obliged on the approach of winter to abandon the siege and return to Ghazni.

There is no allusion to this expedition in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, the *Rausatu-s-Safa* or the *Habibu-s-Siyar*, but it is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and Ferishta.

Ferishta's account of the campaign is as follows :[1]—
"Mahmud in the year 406 H. (A.D. 1015), again marched with the design of entering Kashmir, and besieged the fort of Lohkot, which was remarkable on account of its height and strength. After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmir, the Sultan was obliged to abandon his design and return to Ghazni. On his route having lost his way he came upon a place where the whole plain was covered with water—wherever they went they saw nothing but water. Many of the troops perished. This was the first disaster that the Sultan suffered in his campaigns against India. After some days he extricated himself with great difficulty from his peril and reached Ghazni without having achieved any success." (Elliot's *History*, Volume II, App., page 456.)

From the absence of any allusion to this expedition in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, the inference has been drawn that it did not take place, and that the account in Ferishta and other writers really refers to a later expedition in A.D. 1021. Such an inference seems quite uncalled for. It seems more probable that 'Utbi, being a contemporary writer and holding the position he did, would be afraid to put on record any account of an expedition which was practically a failure. The waters from

[1] *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1910, Volume I, pages 54-5.

which Mahmud could not extricate his army were probably those of the Jehlam near the junction of the Tohi river, or lower down near Jehlam.

In A.D. 1017, Mahmud again invaded the Panjab and was waited on by a prince from the outer hills near Kashmir, who sent him presents of all that was curious and valuable in his kingdom, and was directed to accompany the army, then proceeding to the conquest of Kanauj. (*Ferishta*, trans. 1908, Volume I, page 57).

Once more in A.H. 412[1] (A.D. 1021), Mahmud ascended the valley of the Punch Tohi and laid siege to Loharakotta, called Lohkot in the record. The army lay before it for one month, but finding it altogether impregnable, on account of its strength and loftiness, he raised the siege and departed to Lahore. It would thus seem that Loharakotta was besieged twice and unsuccessfully by Mahmud.

This expedition is referred to both in Ferishta and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. Ferishta's reference is very brief, and he does not give the year, but it may be inferred from the context that he alludes to A.H. 412-13 (A.D. 1021). The reference in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is as follows: "In A.H. 412, the king advanced towards Kashmir and invested the stronghold of Lohkot. He stayed before it one month, but finding the fort, on account of its strength and loftiness, altogether impregnable, he decamped and proceeded towards Lahore and Bagar. He directed his followers to plunder the hill country and immense booty was collected. The Sultan returned in the commencement of spring to Ghazni."

Alberuni, who came to India about A.D. 1017 [2] and remained till about A.D. 1031, is said to have accompanied this expedition. In his *Indica* he mentions the high peak south of the capital, which he names "Kularjak" resembling by its cupola shape the mountain of Dumbavand (Damavand) and remarks: "The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Takeshar (Central Panjab) and Lauhavar (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two *farsakh*. The fortress of Rajagiri lies south of it, and the fortress of Lahur west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town of Raja-

[1] *Ferishta*, trans., 1910, Volume I, page 65, and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Elliot, Volume II, pages 466-67).

[2] Alberuni, *Indica*, Volume I, pages 207-208.

wari (Rajapuri) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade and beyond which they never pass."

There can be little doubt that Alberuni refers to Mount Tatakuti (15,524 feet), the highest peak in the Pir Panjal Range, south of Kashmir. Rajagiri was a strong fortress south of the Pir Panjal Pass and within the Rajauri State. Lahur, from the position assigned to it by Alberuni, can be no other than Loharakotta. Further confirmation is found in another passage in the *Indica*, where Alberuni calls the fortress, Lauhur, in latitude 34° 10′, and states that "it is distant fifty-six (Arabian) miles from the capital of Kashmir, half the way being rugged country and the other half plain;" which is very near the actual distance of sixty English miles by the Tosi-Maidan Pass (*Indica*, Volume I, page 317).

During these eventful years [1] Vigraharaja was ruler of Lohara, and was most probably in the famous fortress on the two occasions when it was besieged. He had a long reign and survived his brother, Sangramaraja of Kashmir, who died in A.D. 1028. The latter was succeeded by his son, Hariraja, who ruled only for twenty-two days, and was followed by his brother, Ananta-deva, a minor. Taking advantage of the confusion that resulted, Vigraharaja again, in A.D. 1030, put forward his claim to the throne of Kashmir and pressed by rapid marches into the valley, entering the capital two-and-a-half days after leaving Lohara. He seized the Lothikamatha, but was soon afterwards killed by the troops sent to oppose him, who burnt down the place. Vigraharaja was succeeded by his son, *Kshitiraja*, who had a long reign of thirty-five years.

The later years of his reign were clouded by the vicious life and rebellious spirit of his son, Bhuvanaraja, which distressed him greatly; and Kalhana tells us that he went to Ananta-deva, the Raja of Kashmir, to seek comfort. His son, who sought to dethrone him, had fled to a neighbouring State, called Nilapura, probably Babbapura, an ancient capital of Jammu, and was preparing an expedition against his father with the help of the ruler of that State Possibly the victory won by Kshitiraja over Rajapuri, referred to by Bilhana, was over the combined armies of Rajapuri and Nilapura, supporting his son, of whom no further mention occurs in the records (*Rajatarangini*, VII, 251-*ff.*)

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VII, *v.* 139-141.

In A.D. 1065 Kshitiraja abdicated and withdrew from all political affairs, and bestowed his kingdom on Utkarsha, an infant, the second son of Kalasa and a grandson of Ananta-deva of Kashmir, who seems to have acted as his guardian during his minority. Kshitiraja then retired to Chakradhara, a shrine in Kashmir, where he lived as an ascetic till his death. He is said to have been learned and of a pious disposition and associated much with ascetics, being devoted to the worship of Vishnu. He is praised by Bilhana, the poet, as distinguished in arms as well as in learning, and as a patron of poets, and equal in fame to Bhoja.

Utkarsha succeeded as a child at the breast and ruled till A.D. 1089. We find his name among the hill Chiefs who, in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, presented themselves in Srinagar as feudatories of Kashmir. Before Kalasa's death, in A.D. 1089, Utkarsha was summoned to Kashmir to be inaugurated as heir-apparent in place of his elder brother, Harsha, who was then in prison, to which his father had consigned him for misconduct. Twenty-two days after his father's death Harsha, with the connivance of his guards, succeeded in making his escape, and was at once installed by the officials ; and Utkarsha, fearing for his life, committed suicide. He was only twenty-four years of age at the time of his death.[1]

By Utkarsha's accession to the throne of Kashmir, Lohara lost its separate autonomy ; and, with several short intervals of independence, was ruled from this time onwards as a province of that kingdom. The famous fort was used as a treasure house and State prison, and as a place of refuge in time of need.

But although no longer a separate principality,[2] Lohara continued to play an important part in Kashmir politics. With the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the throne of Kashmir a wider field for advancement was opened up to the younger princes of that family. Among these were two brothers, Uchchala and Sussala, already referred to, great-great-grandsons of Kantiraja—a younger brother of Queen Didda,—who were fated to occupy a prominent place in Kashmir history. They seem to have resided at Harsha's Court, and were employed on various forms of State service. In a disastrous expedition against the Dards of the Kishen-ganga Valley, they brought themselves into notice by their

[1] *Rajatarangini*, VII, *v.* 251-261.

[2] *Ibid.*, *v.* 1183, *et seq.*, and 1248-*ff.*

bravery and the people were loud in their praise. This excited the jealousy and suspicion of Harsha, on account of their near relationship in the succession to the throne. Fearing for themsleves, they fled at night from Srinagar in the autumn of A.D. 1101 and escaped with the help of some of the Damaras or feudal barons. Uchchala found a refuge in Rajapuri and Sussala in a neighbouring Hill State, called Kalinjara, which has not been identified. It was probably in the lower valley of the Punch Tohi.

During Uchchala's residence at Rajapuri [1] an incident occurred which has already been related. When under the influence of strong feeling, the young prince entered the presence of the Rajapuri Chief and proclaimed his pedigree, proving his descent from Simharaja of Lohara, and the justice of his claim to the throne of Kashmir. Having by his boldness defeated an attempt to prevent his escape from Rajapuri, and accompanied by a number of Damaras, he set out *via* Lohara for Kashmir. Meeting with no resistance on the way, he crossed the Pir Panjal Range in Vaisakh, A.D. 1101, and advanced into the main valley, but was defeated and had to flee. He, however, soon assembled another force and again advanced on the capital from the north-west, while his brother, Sussala, approached with an army from the south-east. Harsha in his extremity was advised to flee to Loharakotta for safety, but refused, and his forces being defeated, almost all his officials deserted him, and he with his son, Bhoja, was killed. The first Lohara dynasty thus came to an end.

Uchchala then (A.D. 1101) succeeded to the throne of Kashmir [2] and he conferred Lohara on his brother, Sussala, as an independent chiefship. With this, however, he was not content and soon began to intrigue, with a view to oust his brother and secure full power. He invaded Kashmir, but was unsuccessful and had to retire to Lohara. In A.D. 1105, the brothers made up their quarrel and became reconciled, and Sussala continued to rule his principality of Lohara.

Some time later (A.D. 1111),[3] other troubles arose in Kashmir, and Uchchala was assassinated in his palace by one of his officers, the city prefect, who claimed the throne. He, however, failed to obtain support and was killed, and in

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, VII, Stein, *v.* 1281, *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, Stein, *v.* 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, *v.* 325-*ff.*

the spring of A.D. 1112, Sussala was re-called from Lohara and installed as king of Kashmir.

Like his brother,[1] Sussala had a troubled reign. On his installation his two younger half-brothers, Salhana and Lothana, as being claimants to the throne, were arrested and taken to Lohara, where they were imprisoned in the strong fort, in which Sussala had deposited much treasure.

Soon afterwards [2] a more dangerous rival appeared in the person of Bhikshachara, the son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha, the rightful heir to the throne. On his father's death he was taken away as a child to Malawa where he remained till A.D. 1112. The first attempt to recover his kingdom, made by one of his followers, was unsuccessful, and being still quite young, he retired to some of the States in the outer hills, one of which was Chamba, where he resided till A.D. 1120. In that year an advance was made into Kashmir, and Sussala's army having sustained a defeat, he sent away his family to Lohara and he himself soon followed. Bhikshachara was then installed as king. But the restoration of the direct line to the throne was of brief duration. Soon after his return, Bhikshachara sent an army to expel Sussala from Lohara, which advanced by Rajapuri, and was joined by Soma-Pala, the Chief of that State. On reaching Punch, it was met and opposed by Sussala and completely routed. Sussala then invaded Kashmir and recovered his kindgom, after an absence of only six months.

Lohara was thus again re-united to Kashmir. The civil war went on intermittently for ten years till Bhikshachara's death in A.D. 1130, but it was confined to Kashmir and did not extend to Lohara. In A.D. 1123, Jayasimha, the heir-apparent, who had been sent to Lohara along with his mother and other members of Sussala's family, in A.D. 1120, for safety, was now re-called and installed as *Yuvaraja*, and a governor was then appointed over Lohara.

As already stated, Salhana and Lothana, half-brothers of Sussala, had been sent to Lohara in A.D. 1112, and were kept in close confinement in the fort, where Salhana died. On the death of Sussala by assassination in A.D. 1128 and the accession of Jayasimha, the confinement seems to have been somewhat relaxed, and in A.D. 1130, Lothana succeeded

[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VIII, *v.* 519.

[2] *Ibid.*, *v.* 684-*ff.*

in winning over some of the soldiers of the garrison, by whom, in the absence of the commandant at a neighbouring village, he was liberated and crowned. Thus the fort and the treasure accumulated by Sussala came into his hands.[1]

News of the revolt was despatched to Jayasimha and an army was sent from Kashmir to recover the fortress.

Kalhana devotes a large amount of space to this portion of his history and goes into great detail, often of a humorous and entertaining character, regarding the incidents of the siege and the characteristics of the various persons who figure in his narrative. These details have a special interest, as depicting in vivid colours the social conditions of the age in which he wrote.

On the approach of the army from Kashmir, Lothana, through his Ministers, turned to Soma-Pala of Rajapuri for help, promising him a rich reward from the amassed treasure in the fort, which had come into his possession. Soma-Pala was notorious for his avarice and accepted the offer. He then had at his Court a former commander-in-chief of Jayasimha's, called Sujji, who had fled for refuge from Kashmir in consequence of intrigues against him. Under him a force advanced towards Lohara, and on hearing of its arrival, by the sudden beating of the war drums at night, the Kashmir army fell into a panic and fled in confusion. Many perished in the mountain passes and many more after their arrival in Kashmir, from the poison of the malarial fevers contracted in the Lohara Valley.

Kalhana [2] gives a very amusing description of the flight of the army leaders which is worth quoting. It is as follows :—

"Sujji marched on quickly and then by having the drums beaten to announce to his opponent the surprise attack, caused a panic."

"Thereupon the troops with their helpless leaders fled quickly by various hill paths, while the night yet lasted."

"In the morning the Ministers were stripped of their fine dresses by the plunderers, just as big rocks are deprived by earthquakes of the various liquid minerals contained in them."

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, Stein, VIII, *v.* 1794.

[2] *Ibid. v.* 1879-*ff*.

"No one drew his sword to protect the troops from being plundered. Every one saved himself and no one else."

"Some who were scaling the rocks in leaps and displaying their crimson under-clothing, showed such skill in their flight, as (if they had been) red-buttocked monkeys."

"Some again who having lost their clothes displayed their yellowish bodies, appeared in their movements like fragments of blocks of yellow orpiment, driven about by the wind."

"Some again whose bodies were heavy as they moved on the mountains, which were thickly covered with spears, trumpeting when they took breath, resembled young elephants on hills covered with bamboo forests."

"What need of mentioning names. There was not a single Minister there who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast."

Laksmaka, the Chamberlain, was captured and brought before Sujji, whom a short time before this he had persuaded Jayasimha to exile from Kashmir. Sujji treated him kindly and made him over to Soma-Pala, but he was afterwards ransomed and returned to Kashmir. Lothana then made Sujji his Minister, and maintained himself for some months in possession of Lohara.[1] But Jayasimha was intent on recovering his lost province, and secretly got into touch with some of Lothana's officers and urged them to depose him and put Mallarjuna, another political prisoner then in the fort and a son of Sussala, in his place. Accordingly when Lothana was absent from the fort they released Mallarjuna and installed him as Raja.[2]

He proved to be a weak and dissolute ruler, and squandered much of the wealth that had come into his hands on unworthy persons. On the approach of another army from Kashmir he agreed to pay tribute to Jayasimha. But Lothana still had a party in his support, and having won over a powerful Damara or hill baron, named Koshthesvara, he made frequent attacks on Mallarjuna and rendered his position precarious.

Meanwhile Sujji had been invited to return to Kashmir, where he was reinstated in his old position, and sent, in A.D. 1132, in command of a force against Lohara. On his approach

[1] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, Stein, *v.* 1921-*ff.* | [2] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, Stein, *v.* 1941—47-*ff.*

Mallarjuna became alarmed, and, taking the treasure with him, abandoned the fort and fled to Rajapuri territory and was robbed on the way. At a later date, in A.D. 1135, while making an irruption into Kashmir he was defeated, captured and imprisoned, and Lohara was then restored to Kashmir.[1]

Lothana still remained at large,[2] stirring up disaffection, till in A.D. 1143, he was compelled to take refuge in a hill fort in the Kishenganga Valley, which was besieged by the Kashmir army. On supplies running short and a capitulation becoming inevitable, Lothana was surrendered to Jayasimha to purchase the raising of the siege, and was imprisoned. Thus both of the claimants to the throne were got out of the way, and a governor was sent to rule the Lohara State.

Towards the end of Jayasimha's reign his eldest son Gulhana, then a child, was crowned as ruler of Lohara, and this was probably intended, as Sir A. Stein suggests, to secure his succession against future risks. It seems not improbable that this branch of the Lohara family continued to rule the State long after the main line in Kashmir came to an end in A.D. 1171 ; and in this connection it is noteworthy that Jayasimha was succeeded by a younger son and not by Gulhana.

Jayasimha died in A.D. 1154, and was followed by his son, Paramanuka and his grandson, Vartideva, with the latter of whom the second Lohara dynasty in Kashmir came to an end, in A.D. 1171. From this time the Lohara State is seldom referred to in the Chronicles subsequent to that of Kalhana, and only thrice in the Muhammadan period, dating from A.D. 1339, when Hindu rule in Kashmir finally ceased.

The first mention occurs in the reign of Kumbhadin (Kutb-ud-din), A.D. 1373-89.[3] At that time Lohara seems to have had a Hindu ruler of Kshatri caste, that is, Rajput, who is called the "lord of Lohara," possibly as suggested, a descendant of the old ruling family. He had been in revolt against Kashmir, and in the reign of Shahab-ud-din, father of Kutb-ud-din, a force was sent to reconnoitre but had to retreat "in fear of the lord of the country." Kutb-ud-din on coming to the throne despatched a powerful Damara or feudal baron, named Lolaka, with an army, to lay siege to the fort, and he surrounded it on all sides. The Lohara Chief despairing of a successful defence sent some Brahmans to arrange favourable terms of capitulation. The Damara, regarding

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[1] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, *v.* 1989—2309. | [2] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, *v.* 2492—2641.

[3] *Rajatarangini*, of Jonaraja, Dutt, 1898, pages 47-48.

them as spies, treated them badly and beat them. This aroused the Raja's wrath, and he determined to hold out at all costs. Arrows and stones were rained on the besiegers in such numbers from the hill, that they were compelled to retreat with the loss of their leader, who was struck and killed. As the poet humorously remarks :—" The stones discharged by the enemy covered the Damara Lolaka, so that he was not deprived of burial, the last rite of the Yavanas."

The next reference is in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin, A.D. 1420-70. He had three sons of whom the eldest was Adham Khan, and they were at enmity with one other. The Raja, therefore, considered it inadvisable to keep them all at court, and Haji Khan, the second son, was sent to Lohara, as Ferishta states, to conquer the country, which he succeeded in doing. We may, therefore, assume that the Hindu dynasty came to an end about this time (A.D. 1450), as there is no further reference to it in any authority.

An interesting point in connection with the above reference is that Haji Khan had his residence at Parnotsa (Punch) and not at Loharakotta, like the former Rajas. The fort, however, was still in existence, for we find one of the Kashmir nobles, named Jahangir Makri, fleeing to it for safety, in the reign of Hassan Shah, the son of Haji or Haidar Shah. The State was still called Lohara or Lohkot, though in all likelihood Parnotsa now became the capital, as it has continued to be down to the present time. The last reference to Lohara, in the *Rajatarangini* of Prajyabhatta and Suka, is towards the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah (*c.* A.D. 1530), the great-grandson of Zain-ul-Abidin. This king was thrice compelled to flee from Kashmir by other claimants to the throne, especially Fath Shah, son of Adham Khan. On the third occasion he seems to have been confined in the Lohara fort, and on being liberated, in A.D. 1530, he " came to Lohara and exacted revenues and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country." From this it is clear that Hindu rule must have ceased sometime previously, and the territory probably remained directly under Kashmir as an Imperial demesne, after the commencement of Mughal rule in A.D. 1586, down to the reign of Jahangir, when it was granted to the ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty which ruled the country till 1819. The lower portion of the Tohi Valley had previous to this been made a separate State, with the capital at Kotli, ruled by a branch of the Kashmir royal family.

The ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty is said to have been Man-Singh, a cadet of the Jodhpur family. His son was Sarje-Singh, who became a Muhammadan and received the name of *Siraj-ud-din Khan.* He came to Punch sometime in the reign of Jahangir and settled in Kahuta. There he became acquainted with the local official, whose title was Chaudhri, and married his daughter. Later he succeeded his father-in-law in the office of Chaudhri and this title still remains in the family.

Sometime afterwards the Emperor came by Punch on one of his visits to Kashmir, and it fell to the Chaudhri to arrange everything for the Imperial camp. This duty he discharged with such ability that he attracted the Emperor's attention, and inquiries were made about his family, and on learning that he belonged to the Rathor family of Jodhpur he was appointed ruler of Punch. He probably assumed or received the title of Raja and continued to rule the State for some years. He was succeeded by his son, *Fateh Muhammad Khan,* who also had a long reign. Nothing seems to be known about the events of the time, and there was probably little to record.

Abdul Rizak Khan was the next ruler, who was followed by his son, *Rustam Khan,* and grandson, *Shahbaz Khan,* with whom the senior branch became extinct. The succession in the junior branch after this time is uncertain. Perhaps one or two reigns may have intervened between Shahbaz Khan and the last Raja, *Ruhullah Khan,* whose reign came to an end in 1819 with the extinction of the State.

It seems certain that Punch became the capital from the time of Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1530 or earlier, and from it the State in later times took its name which it has borne ever since, virtually a reversion to the ancient name of the territory. The name, Lohara, then fell into disuse. The limits of the territory seem to have been very much the same as at the present time.

We can find no mention of the State in any of the histories of the Mughal period, but several references occur in the Chronicles of Rajauri. It was in subjection to the Mughals from 1586 to 1752, like all the other Hill States of the Panjab. Rajauri seems to have acquired a kind of suzerainty over the State, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb, due to the fact that he was married to a Rajauri princess, who was the mother of his son and successor, Muazam or Bahadur Shah.

From A.D. 1752 to 1819, Punch, like the other Hill States, and especially those to the west of the Chinab, was under Durani rule, and, as during the Mughal period, its history seems to have been uneventful. The ruling family and most of the population being of the same religion as the payment power, helped to encourage and maintain friendly relations and we read of no outbreaks such as were common among the Hindu States to the east of the Chinab.

With the rise of the Sikh power in the Panjab, this long period of comparative tranquillity came to an end. Before 1810, Ranjit-Singh had asserted his supremacy over all the Hill States, except those to the west of the Chinab, which still maintained political relations with Kabul. His main objective at that time was the conquest of Kashmir, which was still in the possession of the Afghans. The subjection of these hill tracts, containing the States of Bhimbar, Rajauri Khari-Khariyali, Kotli and Punch, thus became a necessary preliminary to any further advance.

Bhimbar and Rajauri were reduced in 1810 [1] and 1812 after much hard fighting, and in 1814 the Sikh army advanced to Punch, led by the Maharaja in person. The Raja of Punch at that time was Ruhallah-Khan and his sympathies were with the Afghans. On the eve of the Sikh advance, Ranjit-Singh sent a letter to the Raja asking his co-operation in the invasion of Kashmir. To this an evasive answer was returned, pleading engagements with Kashmir and his inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes, as his son was a hostage in the hands of the Duranis.

One division of the Sikh army,[2] under the Maharaja, advanced into the Tohi Valley, while the other followed the route over the Pir Panjal. The Raja of Punch with his forces fell back before them in the direction of the Tosa-Maidan Pass, after issuing orders to his people to abandon all towns and villages and harass the enemy in every way.

Some delay occurred at Punch while the Sikhs waited for supplies, and, the rainy season having set in, they suffered much from damp and cold, and the troops of the Punch Raja, secretly aided by the Raja of Rajauri, hung on their flanks and cut off stragglers. On reaching the Tosa-Maidan Pass, on 18th July, it was found to be strongly held by the Afghans.

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[1] *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pages 388 and 393.

[2] *Ibid.*, pages 402-3, 4.

Meantime the other division of the Sikh army had succeeded in forcing its way into the Kashmir Valley, by the Pir Panjal and other passes, but was defeated and compelled to retreat. Hearing of this disaster to the Sikhs, the Afghan Commander at the Tosa-Maidan Pass, ordered a general attack on the main Sikh army, led by the Raja of Punch. The Sikhs were unable to hold their ground, and a retreat was ordered which ended in a rout. All semblance of order and discipline was lost, and after setting fire to Punch the Maharaja fled with a few followers, escaping it is said with difficulty.

In this precipitate retreat almost the whole of the camp baggage was lost, and great numbers perished, including many officers.

Punch continued to preserve its independence for a few more years, till the conquest of Kashmir in 1819 transferred the hill tracts to the Sikhs. On this occasion also, as in 1814, the Punch Raja supported the Afghans, and on their defeat he was expelled from his State.

Of the subsequent history of the family we know little. The last representatives of the main line seem to have been Sher-Jang-Khan and Shams-Khan, probably sons of Ruh-ullah-Khan, who seem to have left no descendants.

The head of a collateral branch of the family, Sher-Baz-Khan, was granted a *jagir* in Punch, probably by Ranjit-Singh, which his descendants still hold. The present head of the family is Raja Ghulam Mohai-ud-din of Sadhrun in the Upper Tohi Valley, to whom we are indebted for the above details.

Soon after the conquest of Kashmir, Punch was granted in fief to Raja Dhian-Singh, younger brother of Raja Gulab-Singh of Jammu. The exact date is uncertain, but it was before 1822. Soon after this date he was created Chief Minister of the Sikh Kindgom,—an office which he continued to hold till his death. He seldom resided at Punch, as his duties at Court detained him with the Maharaja, where he advanced and safeguarded the common interests of the family.

Vigne, the traveller, passed through Punch in 1837 on his way to Kashmir. He remarks :[1]—" Punch itself is in no way remarkable, it is much less than Rajawur and somewhat larger than Kotli, the houses being of the same construction,

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Volume I, pages 248-49.

and not being aware of anything of sufficient interest to detain me there I commenced at once the ascent to the pass (Tosa-Maidan). It is usually necessary to pass the night at Kahuta, having first ridden through the district of Sudarun at the mouth of the valley."

"At the latter place I once met a large retinue and exchanged compliments with its Chief, Rajah Sher-Baz-Khan, who was hunting. He was, I believe, the descendant of the Raja of Punch. But that place and all that was subject to it were under the iron rule of Gulab-Singh or his brothers."

Raja Dhian-Singh continued to rule the State till 15th September 1843, when he was assassinated, on the same day as Maharaja Sher-Singh, by the Sindhianwala Sirdars. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Raja Hira-Singh, who in his turn was also assassinated on 22nd December 1844. He was followed by his younger brother, Raja Jawahir-Singh.

In March 1846, after the first Sikh War, the hill tracts, including Punch, were made over to Raja Gulab-Singh, but in the treaty no provision was made for the separate autonomy of Punch, which thus became a part of Jammu and Kashmir State. This and other causes aroused strong feeling between Raja Jawahir-Singh and his uncle, which lasted for some years. At last in 1859, sometime after Maharaja Gulab-Singh's death, an arrangement was come to, under which Raja Jawahir-Singh agreed to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, Raja Moti-Singh, on condition that he should receive an annual allowance of one lakh of rupees and reside in the Panjab beyond Ambala.

Raja Moti-Singh continued to rule the State till 1897, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Baldev-Singh, who died in 1918. The present ruler is Raja Sukhdev-Singh.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Bhimbar and Khari-Khariyali.

The Chibh States of Bhimbar and Khari-Khariyali were situated in the outer hills between the Chinab and the Jhelum, south of Rajauri and Punch. The original name of this whole area, in ancient times, was Darvabhisara from the names of the two principal tribes by which it was inhabited. This name is found in the *Rajatarangini*, and it is probable that it dated from a time anterior to the invasion of Alexander the Great. The name continued in use till after the twelfth century and possibly till a much later date. It became changed to Chibhan after the occupation of the tract by the Chibh tribe, and the founding of the two States bearing this name, in the southern section of the area.

According to the *Tawarikh-i-Rájgan, Zilla Kangra*, by Mian Raghunath-Singh and the *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan*, by Thakur Kahn-Singh, Balauria, the Chibh States were founded by a cadet of the Katoch royal line of Kangra, about A.D. 1400. Raja Megh-Chand of Kangra, *c.* A.D. 1390, had three sons, named Hari-Chand, Karm-Chand and Partap-Chand. As already related, Hari-Chand succeeded his father, but fell into a well while out hunting, and after a long search was regarded as dead. His brother, Karm-Chand, was installed in Kangra, and on his recovery he founded Guler State. Partap-Chand, the third son, set out with a force, as was often done in those unsettled times, to carve out a kingdom for himself. He first settled at a village called Malura on the plains near Bhimbar, and having married the daughter of the local ruler, ultimately succeeded to the State and made Bhimbar his capital. He had two sons, Chibh-Chand and Kharakh-Chand, of whom the elder became Raja of Bhimbar and the younger founded the State of Khari-Khariyali, with its capital at Mangla Fort. The name Chibhan is attributed to Chibh-Chand from whom the Chibh tribe is said to be descended, but this is improbable. The members of the tribe are numerous and are found in many localities in the low hills and along the margin of the plains. Originally Rajput, the ruling family embraced Islam at a later date which is uncertain, but probably not later than the time of Babar, from whom the head of the family, named Sadi, is said to have received a confirmation for his possessions. He took the name of Shadab Khan, and is said to have accompanied Humayun on some of his expeditions, and was finally killed by one, Pir Haibat, of Kandahar,

and has ever since been venerated as a saint. His tomb is near Bhimbar, and is a place of pilgrimage to which both Hindus and Muslims resort. The shrine is called Sur Sadi Shahid.

At his shrine every Chibh child must be presented on attaining a certain age, so that the lock of hair, specially retained for the purpose, may be cut off with much ceremony ; without this he cannot become a true Chibh.

Only one Raja of Bhimbar is mentioned in history, named Howns (probably Hans), who, in A.D. 1486, defeated a force from the Panjab seeking to enter Kashmir by way of Bhimbar.

Of the later history of the States we have been unable to obtain any reliable details. Bhimbar is mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* and must have been visited many times by the Mughal Emperors in going to and returning from Kashmir. It is specially referred to by Bernier who accompanied the train of the Emperor Aurangzeb, in A.D. 1665, on the occasion of his visit to the valley. The Serai above the town, about 300 feet square, and now in a ruined condition, was the encamping ground of the Emperors, while their large following remained in the sandy river bed.

In later times Bhimbar was a large and powerful State, including Naushahra to the borders of Rajauri, with a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees.

No mention of the State occurs in any of the later histories of the time, nor in connection with the numerous revolts that were so common in the eastern hills. The rulers being of the same religion as the paramount power remained loyal, and doubtless experienced a large measure of favour not enjoyed by others. This special favour and protection must have continued after 1752 when the paramountcy passed into the hands of the Durani rulers of Kabul.

With the rise of the Sikhs to supreme power this long period of tranquillity came to an end. From about 1770-80 inroads from their roving bands, intent on plunder, must have become of frequent occurrence.

Finally Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, in 1800, established his supremacy and soon afterwards made all the Hill States tributary. The States in the Chibhan were among the last to come under his control, owing to their proximity to Kashmir which was still under Durani rule.

From the beginning of his rule Ranjit-Singh had his eye on Kashmir, but had to bide his time. In 1810 the first attempt was made to subdue the States of the Chibhan, as a necessary preliminary, and a force was sent against Bhimbar. At that time the ruler was Raja Sultan Khan, a brave and resolute man, who made a determined resistance, but had finally to submit and pay Rs. 40,000 in tribute. A large portion of the territory was at the same time made over to a relative, named Ismail Khan, probably with the idea of weakening the State.

For two years Sultan Khan was left in peace, but in 1812 a conflict took place between him and Ismail Khan, in which the latter was killed. On hearing of this Ranjit-Singh at once despatched a Sikh force from Lahore, under the nominal command of Prince Kharak Singh. Sultan Khan took up a strong position on a height above the town of Bhimbar, which was practically unassailable, and the Sikhs were defeated and had to retreat. Another force was despatched in support, but meanwhile negotiations had been opened with Sultan Khan by the Sikh Commander. The terms offered were that the territory should be restored and that the Raja should be treated with honour. On these terms he was persuaded to accompany the Sikhs to Lahore, and on his arrival Ranjit-Singh refused to be bound by the conditions entered into, and committed Sultan Khan to prison in the Lahore Fort, putting him in irons. There he remained for six years. The State was annexed and conferred in *jagir* on Prince Kharak Singh.

In 1819 Ranjit-Singh made his final and successful advance on Kashmir, and Sultan Khan was liberated in order that he might accompany the army, and he furnished a large contingent and took a leading part in the conquest of the valley. On the conclusion of the campaign a portion of the State was restored to him, but sometime later he was invited to Jammu and was killed. Mr. Moorcroft passed through Bhimbar in 1822 on his way to Afghanistan, and has left an interesting notice of the State. Sultan Khan was then still alive and resided at a town named Samani. Moorcroft's account differs somewhat from that already given. He writes:—"The town of Bhimbar may be considered the head of a small *raj* of that name which extends some distance beyond Naushera Serai. Its whole length does not exceed twenty-five *kos*. It is bordered on the north and north-east by Rajaor, to the east

by the district of Pauni Bharak, to the south by Kotla and Jalalpur, and to the west by the petty chiefship of Khari-Khariali. It contains three towns—Bhimbar, Samani and Mangal Devi........... The ruler, Sultan Khan, was a faithful adherent of the Afghans, and when Ranjit first attempted the invasion of Kashmir he met with a spirited resistance from the Bhimbar Chief before his superior strength effected the subjection of the district and the capture of its ruler. After a short interval Ranjit set Sultan Khan at liberty and restored to him the town of Samani ; but he was again induced to join the Afghans and again became the prisoner of the Sikhs. Ranjit-Singh after detaining him some time at Lahore, gave his prisoner liberty and replaced him in possession of a moiety of his domains. He lives near Samani and enjoys a revenue of sixty thousand rupees." Some time after 1822, Sultan Khan was invited to Jammu and was killed.

By permission of Ranjit-Singh his nephew, Faiz Talab Khan, succeeded to the chiefship, but was dispossessed of most of the territory in 1840, and retired from the hills in 1847, on the cession of the hill tracts to Maharaja Gulab-Singh by the treaty of 16th March 1846. The family residence is at Pothi, in the Gujrat District, on a pension of Rs. 10,000.

Very little is known about Khari-Khariyali. It is said that the Sikh Sardars, Sahib-Singh of Gujrat and Mahan-Singh, Sukarchakia, invaded the territory and attacked Mangla Fort, but without success. After Ranjit-Singh acquired Gujrat he marched into the hills and reduced the fort of Chunian, held by Raja Umar Khan, who then retired to the strong fort of Mangla. Finally Raja Umar Khan, thinking resistance useless against a superior power, sued for peace through his son, Akbar Ali Khan.

Before a settlement could be made the Chief died, and Ranjit-Singh then granted half of the State to Akbar Ali Khan. On his death all was confiscated, but a pension of Rs. 4,000 was assigned to Amir Khan, second son of Umar Khan, and Rs. 3,000 to his cousin, Sher Jang Khan. On Amir Khan's death the pension was continued to his son, Fazl-Dad-Khan, who had the title of Raja.

When the hill tracts were made over to Maharaja Gulab-Singh the *jagir* of Rs. 4,000 was included in that territory. A cash allowance of Rs. 1,075 had also been granted to

Fazl-Dad-Khan by Ranjit-Singh, and this was exchanged for a *jagir* of the same value in Dal-Kalu and Sithal; but was resumed by Government on his death in 1864, and a pension of Rs. 540 was granted to his sons, Nazar-Ali-Khan and Fath-Khan.

Members of the family reside in Mirpur District in Jammu, and many members of both families are in the army and in Government service.

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from the Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, 9th March 1846.

Article III.—The Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights in the Doab, or country, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Beas and Satluj.

Article IV.—The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the War, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article III, payment of one and-a-half crore of rupees, and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the Provinces of Cashmere and Hazara.

Article V.—The British Government agrees to respect the *bonâ fide* rights of those Jagirdars, within the territories ceded by Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to the families of the late Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, Khurruck-Singh and Sher-Singh, and the British Government shall maintain these Jagirdars in their *bonâ fide* possessions during their lives.

Article XII.—In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Golab-Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Golab-Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raj Golab-Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Maharaja's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Khurruck-Singh ; and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Golab-Singh, also agree to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to tbe privileges of a separate Treaty with the British Government.

APPENDIX II.

Extracts from the Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Golab-Singh of Jammu, 16th March 1846.

Article I.—The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Golab-Singh and heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.

Article III.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provision of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Golab-Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of rupees fifty lakhs, to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article VIII.—Maharaja Golab-Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Article V of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article X.—Maharaja Golab-Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads.*

In 1846 a question arose as to whether, under the Treaty of Amritsar (16th March 1846), it was intended to make over the whole of Chamba—Trans and Cis-Ravi—to Kashmir. When that Treaty was made Golab-Singh was in possession of the district of Lakhanpur, which clearly belonged to the British territory acquired by the Treaty of Lahore. The Chamba Chief claimed the district of Bhadrawah, which had been granted to him by Ranjit-Singh, but which was then held by Kashmir, and had undoubtedly been transferred to that State by the Treaty of Amritsar. The Raja of Chamba had been tributary to the Sikh Darbar, but objected to occupying that position under Golab-Singh. These difficulties were settled by Colonel Lawrence, who made an arrangement between the Kashmir and Chamba States and the British Government. The main points in it were, that Kashmir retained Bhadrawah and acquired Lakhanpur and Chandgraon, while Chamba on both sides of the Ravi became independent of Kashmir, and the Raja transferring his allegiance to the British Government.

Of the 72 *parganas* comprised in the Chamba Territory, after the first Sikh campaign in 1845-46, thirty-two (32) *parganas* were Cis-Ravi and 40 Trans-Ravi. In exchange for the Cis-Ravi portion of Chamba the British Government gave to Maharaja Golab-Singh the *taluka* of Lakhanpur at the foot of the Hills—Trans-Ravi,—the revenue of which was Rs. 14,400 a year. The Ravi thus became the British boundary in the Hills. The tribute, due from the Chamba Raja to the British Government and to Maharaja Golab-Singh, was calculated at Rs. 15,000 annually; of which one-half would be payable to the British Government for the Cis-Ravi portion. Of the military contingent formerly taken by the Jammu Chief, one-half was henceforth to be supplied to the British Government. During the progress of these negotiations a question arose regarding the right to a tract of mountainous country called Bhadrawah, the Chamba Raja claiming it in virtue of a grant from Maharaja Ranjit-Singh, dated A.D. 1820, and the Jammu Chief, pleading conquest and a possession of 14 or 15 years. The Sikhs had, during the time of Raja Hira-Singh, seized Bhadrawah from the Chamba Chief, and it was a portion of the territory made over to the British Government by Article 4 of the Lahore Treaty of 9th March 1846, and was transferred to Golab-Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar. In 1847 an arrangement was made with Maharaja Golab-Singh, by which he relinquished all claim on Chamba on both sides of the Ravi, in consideration of Bhadrawah being declared his and the Lakhanpur *taluka* being conferred on him. Thus Chamba came again entirely under the British Government. No special agreement was executed.—(Volume II of *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, pages 370-1-2.)

APPENDIX IV.

Land Revenues of the Panjab Hill States under Sikh Rule.

Eastern Group.

		Rs.
1.	Kangra	6,00,000
2.	Guler	1,00,000
3.	Kotla	20,000
4.	Jaswan	1,25,000
5.	Siba	20,000
6.	Datarpur	50,000
7.	Nurpur	3,00,000
8.	Chamba	2,00,000
9.	Suket	70,000
10.	Mandi	4,00,000
11.	Kulu	1,30,000
12.	Kutlehr	25,000
13.	Bangahal	..
14.	Shahpur	..
15.	Bilaspur	70,000

Central Group.

1.	Jammu	4,25,000
2.	Mankot	50,000
3.	Jasrota	1,25,000
4.	Lakhanpur	..
5.	Samba	40,000
6.	Tirikot	..
7.	Aknur	50,000
8.	Riasi	..
9.	Dalpatpur	..
10.	Bhau	..
11.	Bhoti	..
12.	Chanehni	30,000
13.	Bandralta	1,25,000
14.	Basohli	75,000
15.	Bhadu	50,000
16.	Bhadrawah	50,000
17.	Kashtwar	1,50,000
18.	Punch	70,000
19.	Kotli	30,000
20.	Rajauri	1,00,000
21.	Bhimbar	1,50,000
22.	Khari-Khariyali	1,00,000

We are indebted to the courtesy of the Oxford University Press, Bombay, for permission to make use of the above information, from *History of the Sikhs*, by Joseph Devey Cunningham,—New and Revised Edition, 1918, edited by H. L. O. Garrett, Appendix XXXVIII.

APPENDIX V.

Translation of a Treaty concluded by Maharaja Ranjit-Singh of Lahore with Raja Sansar-Chand of Kangra, dated 5th Sawan, 1866 Sambat.

(Seal of Ranjit-Singh.) (*Original signature in Gurmukhi*).

A treaty and solemn compact is hereby concluded with Raja Sansar-Chand, who agrees to transfer the fort of Kangra and district of Sandhata to the Government of Lahore, subject to the following conditions :—

Accordingly, after being duly signed and sealed, this instrument is delivered to the Raja.

Clause I.—By the favour of Guru Dialji, the whole of the Gurkhas shall be driven across the Satluj and the Jamna.

Clause II.—Whatever countries have been alienated from the Raja, since the arrival of the Gurkhas, shall be, as hereinafter set forth, restored to his possession, according to the best of my ability, *viz.*, Bhorat, Nuhera (the Khalsaji will not retain these), Chauki, Kotwalbah, Siba, Chanaur, Ghoasan, Chutgarh and Talhat, Chadiar and Chando, Baira, etc., in Mandi.

Clause III.—The entire revenue, of whatever countries were in the possession of the Raja previous to the Gurkha advent, shall be left to the free and exclusive use of the Raja, and, until the beforementioned arrangements are effected for the Rajaji, Bhai Fateh-Singh shall remain in the fort, but if one or two only of the beforementioned places shall not have been transferred, the garrison of the Khalsa shall nevertheless be introduced into the fort, and the remaining places shall subsequently be conquered.

Clause IV.—Except Kila Kangra, with the *taluqa* of Sandhata, the Government of Lahore has no claim whatever on the Raja, whether for life, property, dignity, service or revenue, and in exchange for Sandhata some other places in the hills will be conferred on the Raja.

Clause V.—The foregoing clauses in the Treaty shall remain in full force, and not be disturbed by any of the descendants of the contracting parties.

I hereby swear by Akalpurkhji, Sri Jwalamukhiji, Sri Baba Nanakji, Sri Guru Harji, Sri Amritsarji, Sri Guru Arjanji, Sri Guru Gobind Singhji, Sri Baba Gurdataji, Sri Annandpurji, that I will faithfully maintain the whole of the provisions of this treaty to the best of my ability.

This solemn compact is written that it may form an absolute and complete instrument.

Written at Sri Jwalamukhi on Tuesday, the 5th Sawan, 1866 Sambat (corresponding to about 20th July, A.D. 1809).

APPENDIX VI.

Amirs, Mansabdars and Ahadis.

The *Amirs* and *Mansabdars* were the nobility of the Mughal Empire. Of these the higher grade were called *Amirs*—the highest of whom, under the Princes of the blood, had the title of *Amir-ul-Umara*. In the reign of Akbar the *mansabs* were nominally 66 in number, but only 33 seem to have been in actual existence, ranging from ten to ten thousand. All above five thousand were reserved for the Princes of the ruling house. Later, in the time of Jahangir and Shahjahan, the maximum rank was increased to twenty thousand, and some of the *Amirs* held rank up to ten thousand, the higher ranks being reserved for the Princes. For example, Dara Shikoh had a *mansab* of 20,000, Shah Shuja, 15,000, Aurangzeb, 15,000, and Murad Bakhsh, 12,000.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* all the *Mansabdars* are classed as *Amirs*, but Bernier makes a distinction in the time of Shahjahan; according to him only the higher ranks were called *Amirs*, the lower being simply called *Mansabdars*. This distinction was probably made by Shahjahan. The *Mansabdars* proper drew smaller salaries than the *Amirs*, but they might be promoted at any time to the higher grade, at the pleasure of the Emperor.

Each *mansab* was classed as "personal" (*zat*) and "horse" (*sawar*), the first indicating the rank (corresponding to a title), and the second, the actual command. Each holder of a *mansab* was under obligation to maintain a contingent of cavalry, for military service when called upon, the actual command being usually about one-third of the nominal rank. For this purpose he was granted an allowance from the State, either in cash, or in the form of a *jagir* of a fixed value; according to his rank, and not to the actual command. There was thus a large surplus, after defraying all expenses in connection with his contingent, which was regarded as his own salary. In this way some of them drew large emoluments from the State.

When each horseman of a contingent owned only one horse it was called *yakaspah*, when more than one, *duaspah*, *siaspah*, etc., but the maintenance of the higher numbers was regarded as a privilege, for which the Emperor's sanction was required, and the allowance was also increased in proportion. The extra horses were led horses for forced marches. On a campaign, special allowances were often made to the *Mansabdars* from the Imperial treasury, and any excess in the contingent, over and above the number required by the Commander's rank, was specially paid for.

Hindus as well as Muhammadans were eligible for *mansab*, at the pleasure of the Emperor, who could also increase or diminish the *mansab*, personal and horse, as he saw fit. It was forfeited by disloyalty, and cancelled along with the emoluments or *jagirs*, by the demise of the holder; and, not being hereditary, a family might in this way be reduced at a stroke from affluence to penury. The younger

cadets had to begin at the bottom, and work their way up as their fathers did before them. The Governors of Provinces, and the officers for the higher commands in the Mughal army, were usually selected from among the *Amirs*.

In the reign of Shahjahan there were 8,000 *Mansabdars*, whose aggregate contingents amounted to 185,000 cavalry ; and these, with certain additions, constituted the standing army of the Mughal Empire. The rulers of the Native States, usually called *Zamindars*, were also under obligation for military service, and they often received *mansab* in the same way as the *Amirs*, with an allowance in cash or a *jagir* for the upkeep of their contingents, in proportion to their rank.

The *Ahadis* were respectable men who enlisted into the Imperial army one by one, of their own free will, and were not included in the contingents of the *Mansabdars*. Hence the name, from *ahad* (one). They ranked beneath the *Mansabdars*, and had to provide their own horses on joining. They were employed on special duties, and were sometimes given a command. They received their military allowances from a special Diwan or Department, and one of the great *Amirs* was their chief. There were 7,000 *Ahadis* in the reign of Shahjahan. The whole system of *mansabs* seems to have been peculiar to the Mughal Empire, and was probably founded by one of the early Emperors. Talboys Wheeler has the following pungent sentences on the subject : "Every noble and officer of the Mughals—from the lowest *Ahadi* to the highest *Amir*—was entirely dependent upon the Padishah. Their lives and goods were at his disposal. They were his slaves. They could not possess land, all the land was the property of the Padishah. They could not leave their property to their wives and families, the Padishah inherited the property of all his nobles and officers. If the dead man had rendered good service to the Padishah whilst he was alive, a small pension might be given to his family, or a small post might be given to his eldest son. Otherwise the family was reduced to beggary."—*History of India*, Vol. IV, Part I, page 18 .

(Compiled chiefly from the *Ain-i-Akbari*.)

APPENDIX VII.

Death Ceremonies of the Hill Rajas.[1]

" When a Raja is near the point of death, a low class Brahman is summoned from some place outside the State. A dish of sweetened rice and milk is prepared, and when the breath leaves the body a portion of this is placed in the right hand of the corpse. The Brahman then approaches and eats of the rice out of the lifeless hand. For each spoonful he swallows he receives a reward of fifteen rupees, but the fees earned on such occasions do not run into an extravagent amount. He is then dressed in the clothes and ornaments of the late ruler, is given a sword, a palanquin and a horse, and is furnished with cooking vessels from the royal kitchen, and with anything else within reason which he may desire. He is lodged either in the palace or in a building adjacent to it, and is given as attendants the personal servants of the late Raja. In some places he is addressed as Raja. He is not allowed to leave the residence allotted to him, except on special occasions, when he repairs to the temple where the services for the dead chief are held. For a whole year he lives in the State as an honoured guest, the monthly gifts of food offered for the comfort of the Raja's soul are consumed by him. His last feast is on the first anniversary of death when he obtains the *barshela*, or offerings of cakes and other food, made in the name of the deceased ruler. This he enjoys early in the morning. The same afternoon he is escorted with every mark of honour outside the confines of the State. He is himself mounted on a horse, but the chief officials who follow him go on foot. The latter throw alms of copper coins on him as he rides, and having accompanied him a mile or so respectfully ask permission to return. This is formally given, but the Brahman is not allowed to proceed alone. An escort of soldiers or police go with him to the frontier, which he must cross before nightfall. It is part of their duty to see that he does not alight from his horse, and if necessary they must prevent him from doing so by force. They have also to see that he neither gives away nor sells, within the State territory, any of the various gifts he has accumulated during his year of office. Once across the border he can never return."

" The explanation of this custom is contained in the title of the Brahman. He is known as the *pret palu—pret* meaning the immature soul, and *palu*, the sustainer or feeder. The priest is the envelope of the Raja's soul, which passes into his body through the spoonfuls of sweetened rice. The Raja, though dead, still lives in the human sustainer of his soul, and it is to the King and not to the priest that homage is paid. The Brahman's wants and desires are those of the departed ruler and hence must be gratified at once, for fear as much as piety accounted for the original institution, though now-a-days the veneration of the dead is the dominating motive. Nevertheless, the prohibition on the Brahman alighting from his horse is still ascribed

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[1] *Mandi Gazetteer*, pages 103-04.

to the belief that, should he do so, the late Raja would continue to rule in spirit over that part of the territory within view. Similarly, the fear of a conflict of authority explains the removal outside the State of all clothes and ornaments worn by the *pret palu* and of all gifts acquired by him."

"The above interpretation of the banishment of the Raja's deputy disposes of a theory advanced in the Golden Bough. A very brief account of the custom is there given, and it is suggested that the Brahman may have been originally a sacrificial victim, slain vicariously for the Raja, and that, as was often the case in similar substitutions, the extreme penalty was commuted into a sentence of exile. But although traces of kingly sacrifice are found in the Himalaya, the institution of the *pret palu* is not one of them. There is no evidence whatever to show that he was ever slain, and his death, in fact, would have defeated the very object of his appointment."

For the above interesting note we are indebted to Mr. H. W. Emerson, I.C.S., and it is probable that the custom was prevalent in all the Hill States. The procedure, however, was not everywhere uniform. In Chamba, for example, the rice and milk ceremony is performed at the burning *ghât*, before the corpse is placed on the pyre, and the Brahman is the same day mounted on a horse and escorted across the bridge over the Ravi, which is regarded as equal to expulsion from the State, to which he may never return. The other portion of the ceremonial procedure is discharged in a modified form by a branch of a local Brahman family, in which the office has been hereditary for many generations.—(*The Golden Bough*—' The dying God '—page 154.)

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